

CHRONICLES OF
NEW HAVEN GREEN





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PUBLIC SQUARE, NEW HAVEN, CT

CHRONICLES

OF

NEW HAVEN GREEN

FROM 1638 TO 1862

A SERIES OF PAPERS READ BEFORE THE NEW
HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY

HENRY T. BLAKE

NEW HAVEN:

THE TUTTLE, MOREHOUSE & TAYLOR PRESS

1898

I INSCRIBE THIS BOOK TO THE
MEMORY OF
Thomas Rutherford Crowbridge,
A LOVER AND BENEFACTOR OF NEW HAVEN GREEN ;
BY WHOSE LAMENTED DEATH
THE NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
IS BEREAVED OF AN EFFICIENT PRESIDENT AND A
DEVOTED AND VALUED MEMBER ;
OUR COMMUNITY OF AN UPRIGHT, GENEROUS AND
HONORED CITIZEN ;
AND I MYSELF OF A SINCERE AND
CHERISHED FRIEND.

PREFATORY.

The following papers were read before the New Haven Colony Historical Society at different times between 1894 and 1898 and are published after being carefully revised and in many parts re-written. Acknowledgment is due to friends who have aided the writer, and especially to Prof. Franklin B. Dexter, Mr. Horace Day and Mr. Thomas R. Trowbridge.

The maps of the Green contained in this volume are reproduced for this work from well known maps of New Haven of the periods indicated. "Brown's map of 1724" was copied from the original by President Stiles at a later date. In it the meeting-house is incorrectly placed in the center of the square, and neither the then newly-built Grammar School near the jail, nor the older school-house then used for the English School, is shown, both of which appear in Wadsworth's map of twenty-five years later. "Wadsworth's map of 1748" was made from actual surveys and is doubtless substantially correct. "President Stiles' map of New Haven in 1775" was drawn on a sheet of letter paper and was consequently too small to be entirely reliable. Curiously enough, President Stiles omits from it, as in Brown's map, both the school-houses, though both were then still in existence and use. The "Doolittle map of 1817" was engraved on copper by Amos Doolittle and first issued by him in 1817. In 1824 he again published it with the requisite alterations and the later date. The plan of the Green in this volume is copied from an imprint of 1817. In this map no liberty pole appears on the Green, and the First Trinity Church and the Blue Meeting-house are

both shown as still standing. It also shows a public well on the Green near the corner of Chapel and Temple streets, but none at the corner of Chapel and Church streets, although the latter was dug in 1813 and the pump over it is shown in a contemporary picture.

Several of the half-tone illustrations in the volume have been taken by permission from Miss Bartlett's charming and beautiful book "Historical Sketches of New Haven." The others and also the wood cuts have been obtained from various sources through the courtesy of the owners.

THE
CHRONICLES OF NEW HAVEN GREEN

FROM 1638 TO 1862.

I.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREEN AS A PUBLIC SQUARE.

The Green as we see it to-day embraces within its area a fraction over sixteen acres. Its shape is not quite square, there being a difference of twenty feet between its sides on College and Chapel streets and of ten feet between College and Elm. The average length of its sides is about 840 feet and the distance around it a little over two-thirds of a mile.

It was laid out in June or July, 1638, by John Brockett, "Surveyor," as he is called in the records, at the same time with the other eight squares of the town plot, this central square being reserved as "a market place." There is no formal record of the reservation, but it is designated "the market place" in the earliest reference to it in the records, which is on October 30, 1639, and continuously thereafter; and its uses have always been in accordance with its designation. The sequestration of so large a tract for public use was somewhat remarkable for those times and indicates a wise and liberal forethought in our ancestors. Possibly the example of Boston, from which place they had just come, may have had its influence, yet our forefathers did

not exactly imitate that example. It was not a "common" that they meant to have in the center of their city; not a mere open field without ownership and without buildings for the public accommodation as a place of pasture and popular gatherings and military parades. Says Rev. Dr. Bacon in his civic oration of May 30, 1879: The Green "was designed not as a park or mere pleasure ground, but as a place for public buildings, for military parades and exercises, for the meeting of buyers and sellers, for the concourse of the people, for all such public uses as were reserved of old by the Forum at Rome and the 'Agora' (called in our English bibles 'the market') at Athens, and in more recent times by the great Square of St. Mark in Venice; or by the 'market place' in many a city of those low countries, with which some of our founders had been familiar before their coming to this New World." It has in fact been put to more uses than Dr. Bacon enumerates, for within its limits six generations educated their children and buried their dead, purposes to which the Forum, the Agora and the market place were not devoted, and which practically complete the range of possible uses of a public nature. Hence New Haven Green has been identified, to a degree that Boston Common has not, with all the important transactions and events connected with the religious, political and civil life of the surrounding community, and so is richer in historic associations of a local character.

As the Green was not an imitation of Boston Common, so the Boston appellation never attached to it. In all the various records which have been kept in New Haven I have met with but a single instance where it was called "the common" and that was in a record of the County Court. In two cases connected with the public proclamation of Royal accessions it is dignified as "The Great Square," but with these and perhaps two or three other exceptions, its uniform designation, not only in all local records, but in all contemporary literature, was "the market place" until about 1759. Then for the first time (so far as I have yet dis-

covered) the name "the Green" appears. It is found in an advertisement in the *Connecticut Gazette* of April 21, 1759, in which Samuel Gilbert announces a house for sale "on the southeast corner of the Green in New Haven." It would seem from this that the name was not unknown at that time, yet it crops out nowhere else for fifteen years. It is next discovered in another advertisement in the *Connecticut Journal* of May 13, 1774, inserted by Joseph Smith, who offers English and India goods at his store, "at the southeast corner of the Green, near the church, in New Haven." This advertisement is repeated in subsequent issues of the paper, yet still "the market place" is the only designation elsewhere appearing.

By 1779 the new appellation must have attained a footing in popular use, for President Daggett, July 26, 1779, in narrating the involuntary walking trip which he took with the British troops after his capture, speaks feelingly of the pleasure with which he finally reached "the Green," and thenceforth we meet with the designation quite frequently. After 1783 the term "market place" practically disappears from the public records. The city government, which came into operation in 1784, seemed to regard "the Green" as too rustic an appellation for an aspiring municipality and generally used "the public square" as a more metropolitan term. Occasionally an effort has been made to introduce "the Public Park" as a more dignified title, but the popular choice seems now as firmly fixed as that of the milkmaid in the spelling book with regard to the color of her May-day gown, "green becomes my complexion best, and green it shall be."

Title and Jurisdiction.

The question, "Who owns the Green?" has, during the past ten years, been more than once the theme of public discussion, and it will be proper to devote in this place a few paragraphs to the subject.

The tract of land embracing the New Haven plantation was purchased and owned, not by the town as an organization nor by the whole body of the original colonists, but by the individuals who contributed to the expense of the enterprise. These were known as "the free planters" and afterwards as "the proprietors." They and their successors in ownership were and remained a class distinct from the political body, the town, and are so recognized in the records. They retained their claim to title in the soil of the market place as well as of other common and undivided lands, but shared with the other members of the body politic the right of admitting new comers and assigning them their places of habitation; also the right of deciding what public buildings should be erected on the market place. The title of the Proprietors to such common and undivided lands has been four times formally recognized and confirmed by the General Assembly of Colony and State. First, in 1685, when it issued a patent to the New Haven Proprietors by name. Second, in 1713, when the patent of 1685 was confirmed. Third, in 1810 under the circumstances hereafter mentioned. Fourth, in 1875, when a general statute was enacted confirming previous grants to proprietors of common and undivided lands and providing that such lands still remaining should vest in the proprietors as their individual estate.

The records of the New Haven Proprietors until 1724 are intermingled with those of the town. After that date they are kept in separate volumes. They relate to the distribution of common and undivided lands among the surviving proprietors and their representatives. By the year 1806 most of the lands had been divided and the heirs of the original proprietors were scattered and unknown. Accordingly in that year the proprietors, by a vote which was confirmed by the General Assembly in 1810, transferred all their interests, rights and powers to a permanent self-perpetuating committee of five, known thereafter as "the Proprietors' Committee," and vested such committee with

power to alienate any lands that might still remain common and undivided with the advice of the Selectmen of the town and for the benefit of the town treasury.*

It is clear therefore that the legal title to the Green, so far as one can be said to exist, is held by the Proprietors' Committee,† and by virtue of their ownership they claimed and exercised until within a recent period the right to control its management, and gave or withheld permission for the erection of buildings upon it at their discretion. While this right on their part was never disputed by the town or city, it was also exercised on several occasions by one or the other of the latter without opposition by the Proprietors. In the year 1856, however, an act was passed by the State Legislature making void any permission thereafter given by the Proprietors' Committee for the erection of any structure on the Green unless it should be ratified by vote of a town meeting. Finally in 1868, by the City Charter granted in that year, the Court of Common Council was vested with the entire management and control of all the public squares of the city, and this provision, which has been continued in the subsequent City Charters, is likely to be permanent.

It will be observed, however, that the power thus conferred on the Common Council over the Green is one to regulate, not to impair the right of "public use for a market place," which was given by its original dedication in 1638, and confirmed by a renewed dedication in 1757. The term "public use for a market place" would probably be differently construed by the courts at the present day from the sense attached to it by our predecessors, who lived under different social and other conditions. It is not likely for instance that the erection of churches, school-houses or even of a State house on the Green would now be regarded as consistent with its proper public use. When the three churches which stand on it were built however, no such

* See Note 1 at the end of this Paper.

† See Note 2.

doubt had arisen, and as they were placed there by legal authority and without objection they have doubtless acquired the right to remain so long as they continue to be used for their original purpose. The question of their status beyond that period must be left for another generation to settle.

The Green from 1638 to 1666.

We will now proceed to trace the development of the Green from its original rude condition to that which it presented in 1862, and to note the changes in its appearance which occurred during the intervening period.

When first staked out in 1638, the market place, so far as it could be separated from the general tract of woodland composing the town plot, presented itself to the eye as an uneven wooded plain, sloping from west to east, the declivity being considerably steeper on the south side than on the north. At the foot of the slope was a swamp occupying the greater part of what is now the lower Green, and overgrown with alder bushes. A small creek collected in this swamp and flowed southeasterly through the woods for a quarter of a mile until it emptied into a larger stream called East creek about where the Wooster street railroad bridge now stands. Around this tract a few log houses had been erected, and others were going up, but the clearings were few and small as yet, for it was only two months after the celebrated sermon under the oak tree April 25, 1638.

For the next year and a half, that is, until October, 1639, the settlers were so fully occupied in building their habitations, clearing their lots, and attending to their crops, that they had no time even to establish their civil institutions, and therefore could not act as an organized community in the erection of public buildings and in other works of public improvement. They did find leisure, however, as Dr. Atwater suggests in his history of this period, to hold meet-

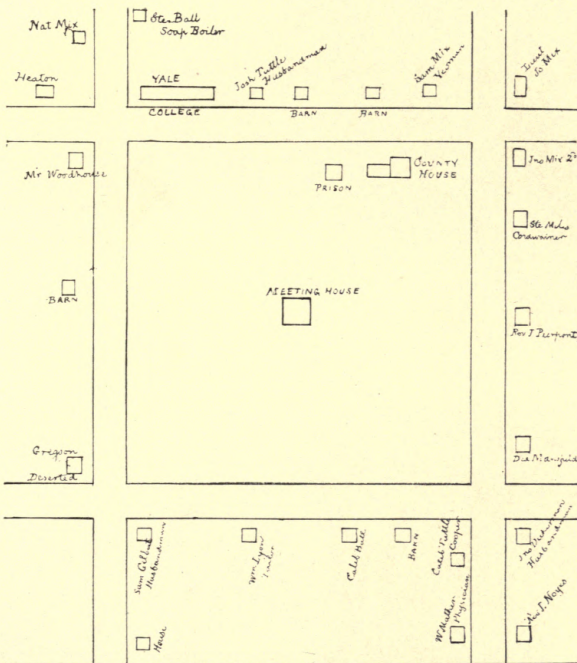
ings for the transaction of business and to maintain order according to Scripture rules by the pretty frequent infliction of penalties upon pretty numerous evil-doers.

The town government was finally organized October 25, 1639, and its first act was to try and convict an Indian named Nepaupuck for murder, which it did with alacrity and despatch. We read in the record of the trial that the culprit was arrested October 26, and set in the stocks. Before that time therefore the stocks and doubtless the whipping post had been erected on the market place; and thus these emblems of Christian civilization were the earliest tokens of its dedication to free institutions and public enjoyment. Four days later, that is on October 30, 1639, as the record tersely informs us, "the Indian's head was cut off and pitched upon a pole in the market place," this being the second step in the improvement of the Green and the first attempt to put a cheerful face upon the public pleasure grounds.

During this preliminary year and a half there were no public buildings in existence. It does not appear where the people meanwhile met for business and worship except in one instance; that of June 4, 1639, when the free planters assembled most appropriately in Mr. Newman's barn, in order to form a stable government. But now that the town was organized, action was immediately taken to supplement the stocks and whipping post with a meeting-house, and on November 25, 1639, it was ordered that one be erected fifty feet square in the center of the market place. It was built doubtless from timber growing on the square and was completed sufficiently for use during the ensuing summer, that is about July, 1640; and thereafter all public gatherings, civil as well as religious, so long as it stood, were held within its walls. The picture in several histories of New Haven which is generally entitled "the first meeting-house in New Haven," but in Dr. Atwater's book more correctly "a meeting-house of the seventeenth century," shows a structure more elaborate and finished than the

meeting-house of 1638. It more correctly represents the second one, built several years later. The exterior walls of the first meeting-house were of rude plank sawed by hand and were so insecurely constructed that they soon began to spread under the weight of the roof and had to be shored up. Frequent repairs were made after 1651, nevertheless in 1660 the meeting-house was reported to be in a dangerous state and the town drummer was ordered "not to beate in the tower, but in the market place, where he can be heard distinkly." In 1662 the tower was taken down. In 1651 it was ordered that "the glass windows of the meeting-house be taken out and boards be fitted in for warmth in ye winter, the boards to be removed in summer to let in ye air." As the meeting-house was the place in which not only religious services were held, but all public business transacted, this economical mode of heating the building, however conducive to comfort, must have caused occasional inconvenience.

The other public buildings on the Green during the early colonial period of New Haven were three in number. There must have been a watch-house before June, 1640, for at that time a nightly watch was established with its quarters in "the watch-house." This building was sufficiently commodious to accommodate the corps of watchmen, and had a fire place and chimney. A "prison-house" is also spoken of before 1660 as having "no fire in it," and which therefore could not have been identical with the watch-house. A school-house must also have been built before 1648, for the records show that repairs were made on it in that year. The "prison-house" is shown in Brown's map of 1724 as standing near College street about opposite the present site of Lawrance Hall, and it was then called in the records "the old prison-house." The watch-house presumably stood near it, and it is possible that the small building shown in Brown's map as a wing attached to the Court House of 1718 was the original watch-house, which had been used as a Court House by the County Court



THE GREEN AS SHOWN IN BROWN'S MAP OF NEW HAVEN IN 1724.

prior to the erection of the new one in 1718. Color is given to this idea by the fact that in Wadsworth's map of 1748 this wing is called "the County House" and is shown to have had a chimney.

Where the first school-house stood has been the subject of various conjectures. One theory has been that it was on the lot now occupied by the City Hall, but this is untenable, as that lot was not devoted to school purposes till 1693. Another suggestion is that it stood on the Green opposite the lot just mentioned. This also is improbable, as that part of the Green was then a swamp and continued to be such for many years later. For reasons which I shall give in another paper I am satisfied that the first school-house stood on the Green near Elm street, a little west of Temple and in the same place where its successor, the brick school-house, was built in 1756.

For the construction of these public buildings, as well as for private houses and fences, and for firewood and other uses, timber was taken from the market place and the surrounding streets; but the work of clearing proceeded slowly, and in 1645 a special order was made by the town that the "market place be forthwith cleared and the wood carried to the watch-house for the use and succor of the watch in cold weather." In 1649 there was still some timber standing and the sergeants were directed "to inquire who hath not wrought in the market place, that they might cut some wood out to furnish more firewood for the watchmen." Grass also began to appear and was protected, for in March, 1654, all men were "desired to take notice that if any cut up any English grass which grows about ye market place, ye streets or other comon to plant in their own ground they must expect to receive due punishment for the same."

In 1665, the year that New Haven united with Connecticut, had we again inspected the market place we should probably have found it and the surrounding streets substantially free from trees. Its surface was irregular, and

rough with stumps and stones. The declivity on the Chapel street side showed more conspicuously than before the clearing. The swamp toward Church street was probably less marshy than before, and the stream at the southeast corner of the Green must have been provided for in some way; perhaps by draining it through a channel under a bridge. Toward the northern end of the swamp, that is to say, about opposite where the Law Chambers building now stands on Church street, a causeway and footpath had been constructed across it about 1647; principally for the convenience of Mr. Davenport and Gov. Eaton, who lived on opposite sides of Elm street, just below Orange. Some alder bushes probably remained along the edges of the bog. The buildings on the market place were now in open view. There was the rude unpainted meeting-house in the center, shored up by timbers on the outside, its turret removed three years before for safety, and the whole building in danger of collapse. Around it was a small colony of desolate graves, with here and there a headstone or tablet. On the northern side of the square was the school-house, somewhat enlarged and improved from its original construction and regarded with some pride by the community as the first edifice of a future college. Near the top of the slope were two one-story cabins, not far from the present line of College street. These were the watch-house, and the prison-house. In front of the prison were the stocks. In our ignorance of such constructions we might have wondered where was the whipping post. In answer to such an inquiry our attention would probably have been called to the high posts supporting the frame of the stocks, one at each end, and we should have been informed that it was an old and happy invention to unite the two institutions in one, thus saving expense and space, and affording when both were in operation, as they frequently were, a combination of entertainments doubly edifying to the public.

From 1665 to 1700.

In 1668 the old meeting-house had become too unsafe for further use and a new one was commenced. It was completed November, 1670, and the old one was then sold. The new meeting-house was similar in general appearance to its predecessor, but probably better finished in its appointments, and sufficiently firmly built to support the roof and turret without shoring up. The location was in front of its predecessor, just beyond the easterly side of Temple street. Its belfry was vacant except when occupied by the town drummer, until 1682. Then a vessel having arrived in the harbor the year previous with a bell on board, and the town with a wise precaution, which might well be imitated in modern times, having tested its tone for a year and a half before purchasing, it was finally accepted and "hanged in the turret" as a town bell. In the meantime (November 27, 1682), Joseph Pardee had been appointed bellringer "to ring ye Bell for ye town's occasion on ye Sabbaths and other meetings as was wont by ye Drum and all soe to ring ye bell at nine of ye clock every night."

Then began that music of Sabbath bells which has since continued to vibrate over the Green for more than two hundred years, and then began also, by vote of the town, the nine o'clock bell, which was maintained, though perhaps with some intermissions, until about 1836.

Between 1665 and 1700 there was little change in the appearance of the Green. The meeting-house was enlarged in 1697 and somewhat improved by successive repairs. Some local pride began to be felt in the market place, if we may judge by the occasional outbreaks of public spirit in the town meetings, which expressed itself in votes leveled at invading geese and persistent stink weed. After repeated condemnations, the stink weed seems to have surrendered, but the geese proved too obdurate and too sagacious a foe for our ancestors to

successfully cope with. There seems to have existed in our forefathers an intolerance of geese, which has considerably ameliorated in their descendants. The town records for many years show toward swine, cattle and "horsekind," a system of license, or at least local option, with respect to wandering at large, but nothing is extended to geese but stern prohibition, of which the following vote, passed in town meeting, December 2, 1798, is an illustration: "No goose or gander shall be permitted to go at large within ye limits of the town of New Haven unless such goose or gander shall be well yoked with a yoke at least twelve inches long. And if any goose or gander shall be found going at large as aforesaid without such yoke, such goose or gander shall be liable to be impounded, and ye fee for impounding such goose or gander, if taken damage fesant shall pay five cents and be holden to pay such damage."

From 1700 to 1784.

In 1701 New Haven became a co-capital with Hartford, and the General Assembly, which then met twice a year, commenced holding its October sessions here. In 1719 the first State House in New Haven was built on the northwest corner of the Green adjoining the County House. Thenceforth the State House was used not only by the Legislature, but the courts and is sometimes called the Court House and sometimes the State House, in contemporary records. The old jail was also raised one story and enlarged so as to include a prison keeper's house. In 1723 a new school-house was built for the Grammar School on the College street side of the Green, having the great advantages of the grave-yard in front and the jail and whipping post immediately contiguous to furnish moral object lessons to the pupils. The old school-house near Elm street remained standing and was used for an English school until 1756, when it was torn down and a brick school-house erected on the same site. When Wads-

worth's map was made in 1748 this brick school-house had not been built and the old school-house is shown upon it, as also the other public buildings above referred to. The old burial ground had by that time become considerably enlarged and was crowded with tombstones, but was overgrown with weeds and traversed by footpaths, and except when cheered by an occasional funeral presented a dismal and neglected appearance.

In 1756 the third meeting-house was erected, afterwards known as the "Brick Meeting-house." It was seventy-two feet long and fifty feet wide and stood a little east of the present site of the Center Church, its longest line being north and south, and it had a steeple at its north end. Its east side had an entrance, the steps of which projected into Temple street when that street was afterwards laid out. This meeting-house was erected not like its predecessors, by the town, but by the Church of the First Ecclesiastical Society, a result of doctrinal controversies and the formation of new religious societies in consequence.

About 1759 occurred the first important step in the improvement of the Green by the planting of shade trees. Dr. Dexter, in his paper on New Haven in 1884, refers to it, quoting from an "Essay on Tree Planting," written by Jared Eliot in 1760, which contains the only contemporary account of it so far as I know. He says: "I observed in New Haven they have planted a range of trees all around the market place and secured them from the ravages of beasts. This was an undertaking truly generous and laudable. It is a pity they were not mulberry instead of buttonwood and elm." Dr. Dexter suggests that the large buttonwood tree now standing in Elm street nearly opposite the Methodist church may be a relic of this planting. Probably also, some of the large elms in the row surrounding the Green, which are outside of its enclosure, were planted at this time.*

* See Note 3.

At the time of the British invasion in 1779, Gen. Garth, it is said, declared that the town was "too pretty to burn." Thus it was perhaps these trees, then half grown, which with the potent assistance of Santa Cruz rum, saved New Haven from the fate of Fairfield and Norwalk.

In 1763, through the efforts of the New Haven County Bar, a body then as now always full of zeal and public spirit in behalf of improvements when the county pays the bills, a new Court and State House was erected on the Green by the county, the General Assembly subsequently contributing £1,000 therefor, estimated to be about one-third of its cost. This edifice stood on Temple street (not then laid out, however) between the new Brick Meeting-house and the present site of Trinity Church.* Its predecessor, near the corner of College and Elm streets, continued to grace that vicinity for several years. In the meantime it was used for various purposes. Early in the Revolution it was known as "the Town House," where the selectmen had their office. Town meetings, however, were held in the new Court House. From 1767 to 1772 it also contained the printing office of Thomas and Samuel Green, publishers of the *Connecticut Journal and Postboy*, the paper which after several changes of name is now the *Morning Journal and Courier*. Later on the building became a shop for metal buttons. It was taken down, as we shall see hereafter, between 1780 and 1790.

In 1769, by permission of the Proprietors, the Fair Haven society erected "a house for public worship on ye south end of the brick school-house" and a little east of the present site of the North Church. It was of wood, painted white, and about as large as the Brick Meeting-house. Its longest line was north and south and its steeple was on the south end. Several pictures in the possession of the society, some of which have been engraved, render the appearance of the three buildings on the Green at this period familiar to all. Before 1775 a rough board fence

* See Note 4.

painted red had been constructed around the burying ground. This fence is shown in Stiles' map of 1775 as well as the trees around the square which had been planted in 1759, and the general appearance of the Green is there given as it must have presented itself to the eyes of our British visitors in 1779, when Gen. Garth remarked that the town was too pretty to burn. Considering that the invaders had been so persistently and vigorously opposed on their march, and had been forced thereby to make a long and tiresome journey of several miles under a hot July sun, it is remarkable that they did little if any damage to the public buildings and left the Green in about the same condition as they found it. It is very doubtful whether Coxey's army, if compelled to do the same amount of work, would have shown half the forbearance.

From 1784 to 1800.

In February, 1784, the first City Charter of New Haven went into effect, and from this period dates a new era in the history of the market place or "Green," as it was now coming to be generally called. The Charter contained a singular provision, as follows: "And said city shall have power to exchange that part of the Green in said New Haven lying northwesterly of the public buildings (i. e. almost the entire upper Green) for other lands, for highways or another Green, and to sell and dispose thereof for that purpose."

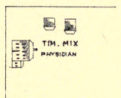
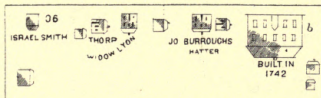
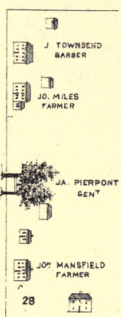
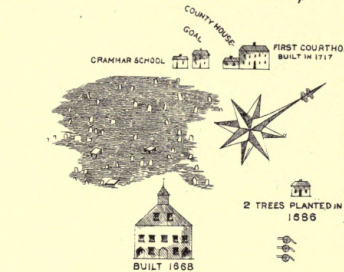
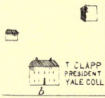
In order to account for this section in the charter, it has been suggested that it was inserted on account of some friction between the town and the proprietors, and as a warning to the proprietors not to further assert ownership in or jurisdiction over the Green. But I find no evidence of any such friction having existed, and the provisions of the section do not appear adapted to protect the Green from alienation, but the contrary. It seems to me rather to indicate that the habit of using the upper portion of

the Green for building purposes had lessened the public appreciation of its value as an open pleasure ground, and had suggested its use as a piece of merchandise to make bargains with.

However this may be, the authority given by the State to the city to sell land which belonged to neither, and which had for one hundred and fifty years been used as a market place in accordance with its original dedication, was certainly extraordinary and of course totally invalid. Happily if any disposition existed to make such sale it never showed itself afterwards.

There were men at that time in New Haven, like Hillhouse and Austin, who not only understood the value of the public square, but were about to awaken a new pride and public spirit in its preservation and improvement. The first steps in that improvement began immediately. In the summer of 1784 the old jail was moved bodily off the Green to the opposite side of College street. Probably the ancient State House and still more ancient County House were demolished about the same time, as we hear no more about them. Their next neighbor, the dilapidated Grammar School-house (built in 1723) appears to have survived a few years longer, according to the recollection of the late President Day. On September 22 of the same year, the thoroughfare across the Green in front of the public buildings was extended through to Grove street and the whole named Temple street. On the same day the other streets of the city received for the first time their present names.

In April, 1785, the Common Council granted permission "to erect a market house by private subscription on Chapel street at the southeast corner of the Green." As the Green was then unfenced and its boundaries indistinguishably merged in the surrounding streets, this market-house may have encroached on its area. As there were already two market-houses in the City (one at the end of Church street and the other in Chapel street over the Creek) this one was probably little used, and in June, 1790, the Common Coun-



THE GREEN AS SHOWN IN WADSWORTH'S MAP OF NEW HAVEN IN 1748.

cil was considering the expediency of purchasing it for a work-house. It was removed sometime before 1800 and sold for a cooper shop.*

It may be worth while at this place to refer to a statement which has been repeatedly published, to the effect that at one period "there was on the Green, near the Elm and Church street corners, a pen for swine." I have been unable to find any authority for this statement and do not believe that there is any truth in the tradition. Cattle were pastured on the Green till August, 1821, at which time the Common Council appointed a committee "to confer with the contractors for the field and pasturage of the eastern section of the public square in regard to rescinding the contract and to rescind the same on such terms as they think best." In 1827 the Committee on Care of the Public Square was directed "to prevent horses and cattle from feeding thereon."

Prior to 1800 the Green was entirely uninclosed and in consequence was used as a common thoroughfare for all sorts of travel. The great road from Litchfield and the west, which was the only entrance to town from that quarter, entered the Green at the corner of College and Elm streets and ran diagonally across it to Thaddeus Beecher's tavern at the corner of Chapel and Church streets. To prevent such encroachments a city meeting in April, 1784, with commendable public spirit, voted that "the southeast part of the Green might be enclosed by any number of gentlemen who should agree to defray the expense thereof in such manner as to exclude passengers, footmen excepted." After waiting fourteen years for some one to accept this generous offer another city meeting in 1798 enlarged it by granting permission "to rail in both sections of the Green without expense to the city under the direction of James Hillhouse, David Austin and Isaac Beers, Esqrs." Even this liberality seemed not to be appreciated, for in the following year, 1799, the city again raised its bid by giving con-

* See Note 5.

sent that the "Green or Public Square might be levelled and the upper and lower portions railed in and water courses made for carrying off the water under the direction of Pierpont Edwards, James Hillhouse and Isaac Beers, provided it could be done without expense to the city." Stimulated at last by such unexampled munificence, a subscription paper was started and \$2,000 raised, and in the following year, 1800, the first fence around the Green was an accomplished fact. It was of wood, having squared and pointed posts and an upper and lower rail which were also squared. It stood till 1846, when it was succeeded by the present fence, the old one being removed to Milford.* How much levelling and grading was done does not appear, but the surface of the Green remained quite uneven for many years later, and the eastern side was more or less boggy in wet weather until after 1820. I am informed by T. R. Trowbridge that his father gathered the iris there as late as 1821. These improvements resulted in greatly increasing the grass crops on the Green, so that in 1801 and for several years thereafter the city annually voted to sell them, "and to use the avails in the improvement of the public square." Thus the new century opened auspiciously with an awakened pride and interest in the Green and a growing public spirit for its protection and improvement.

Dr. Manassas Cutler, in his account of a visit to New Haven in 1787, says that the trees which had been set out in 1759 around the Green, were then large and added much to its beauty. He also says that a row across the center had then been very lately set out, "in a line with the State House, two large meeting-houses and the Grammar school-house." This row along Temple street was the first row of trees planted inside the Green and was the precursor of the more extensive tree-planting between that date and 1796 by Mr. Hillhouse and Mr. Austin.† The story has been so often told that it need not be here repeated. Most of the planting at that time was in the lower Green. Mr.

* See Note 6.

† See Note 7.

Hillhouse is said to have planted a row on the upper Green in 1808, probably near College street, some of which were removed when the Methodist Church and the last State House were built. This section remained, however, nearly bare of trees (the old burial ground occupied a considerable portion of it till 1821) until 1839, when 150 maples and elms were set out upon it by order of the Common Council.

From 1800 to 1862.

After the opening of the Grove Street cemetery in 1797, burials on the Green were gradually discontinued. The last was that of Mrs. Martha Whittlesey in 1812. The first disturbance of the graves took place in 1813, when the trenches were dug for the foundations of the present Center Church. This church was the first to be erected of the three now on the Green, but the last in the order of permissions granted for such erections. The first permission was given to Trinity Society at a town meeting on the fourth Monday of December, 1812, and the third was to the First Ecclesiastical Society at the same town meeting in the following terms: "Voted, to license the First Ecclesiastical Society to build a new brick meeting-house and to extend the walls as far westward as their convenience may require; provided this license do not vary the rights of individuals." As it was to stand partly on ground occupied by its predecessor, the old brick meeting-house, the latter was demolished before the present church was built. The new edifice was finished in 1814.

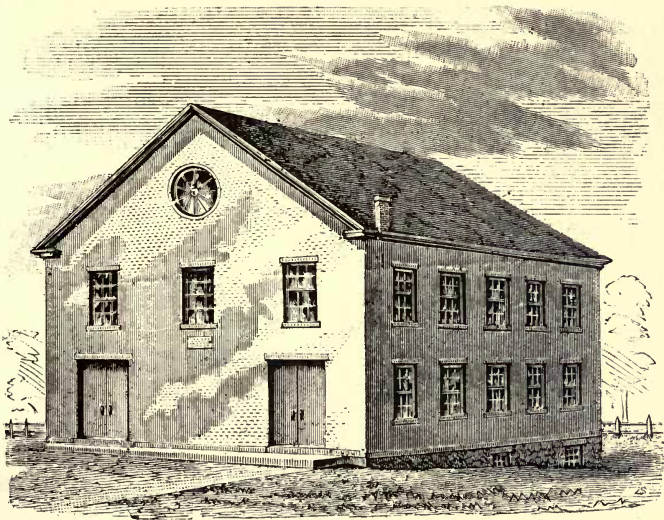
In 1814 the Fair Haven meeting-house was taken down and the present North Church erected. Trinity Church was also going up in the same year and both were completed in 1815. The tower of Trinity was originally of wood with a square top, having a pinnacle at each corner. Says Dr. Dwight in his account of New Haven: "The Episcopal church is a Gothic building, the only correct specimen it is believed in the United States." The archi-

tect of both Trinity and Center Churches was Ithiel Towne, and it must be conceded that both are commendable monuments to his professional ability and good taste. The North Church is hardly less creditable as an architectural achievement, it having been designed by a shoemaker, Ebenezer Johnson, a member of the United Society.

In 1821, there having been no interment in the old burial ground on the Green since 1812, the fence around it was removed by direction of a city meeting, the ground graded, and the monuments removed to the Grove Street Cemetery.

In the same year the Methodist Society commenced building a large brick church on the northwest corner of the Green under a permission granted by the town the year previous. Many worthy members of the society feared that the edifice, plain as it was, savored too much of worldly display, and it is said that at the laying of the corner-stone the officiating elder, in deference to these doubts, prayed fervently that if the proposed structure was not in accordance with the divine will the four winds of heaven might be sent to level it with the ground. Confident, however, that no such purpose was in contemplation, the devout congregation placed over the door a tablet bearing these words of faith and gratitude: "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us." Hardly had the walls risen to the proper height when the celebrated gale of September, 1821, swooped down upon them and laid them flat as the walls of Jericho.

Happily and wisely, however, the society refused to regard this result as an answer to prayer and reconstructed their fallen sanctuary. Nevertheless they strictly enjoined the incautious elder from further invocations and with more fidelity to faith than fact replaced the grateful tablet. The church was completed in 1822, a plain, square brick building, entirely devoid of any architectural adornment. It remained till 1848. In that year the society decided to build a new church, and a city meeting, influenced by the sentiment then beginning to prevail that the Green should



FIRST METHODIST CHURCH.

Built 1821—Removed 1848.

be kept free from obstructions, appropriated \$5,000 toward the purchase of the site now occupied by the society on the corner of Elm and College streets. About the same sum was raised by private efforts and the old building was taken down in the latter part of the year.

In 1828 the building of a new State and Court House on the Green near College street having been commenced, that of 1763 was dismantled—the material being used, in part, in the construction of the new building. As the new State House was not ready for occupancy by the courts till January, 1831, their sessions were held in the meantime in the basement of the Methodist Church; on the very spot where the courts were held in earlier time for nearly one hundred years, that is from 1665 to 1763. The General Assembly occupied the new State House in May, 1830, although it was then unfinished. The erection of this State House involved the raising of the ground at its north end so as to form a hill about twelve feet in height, and this became in after years a famous coasting place for boys, known as the State House hill. The building was another monument to the genius of the architect, Mr. Ithiel Towne. While we cannot deeply deplore its departure after its usefulness was ended, we must all admire its merits and respect its memory.

In 1839, as already stated, by vote of the Common Council, 150 maples and elms, principally maples, were set out on the public square. The maples were preferred at that time on account of the liability of elms to be ravaged by the measuring worm, or canker worm as it was generally called. This worm has appeared at intervals since 1750, but the first serious experience of them within the present century occurred in 1838. Other visitations followed at frequent intervals down to 1850 and later, though in a modified degree. Prior to 1846 for several years before the middle of June the trees on the Green were stripped as bare as in the depths of winter. The fence, which was of wood, painted white, was so covered with worms as to

appear entirely black. The walks were literally carpeted with them, and the air was full of their squirming forms descending from the barren branches. Many schemes were proposed for their extermination, but none were successful until the plan was adopted of surrounding the trunk of every tree in the fall of the year with large tin troughs filled with oil. This device was used quite generally, but the troughs were expensive and the oil was blown by the wind over the sidewalks and the clothes of passers-by. A smaller trough was then used, made of sheet lead, and these were placed upon the elms almost universally throughout the city, being kept in order and supplied with oil by annual contract. These remedies, continuously applied for several years, greatly diminished the pest, and of late the last of the lead troughs have disappeared. A band of cloth or paper coated with tar or printer's ink is now regarded as a sufficient protection.

The first paved walk on the Green was the present brick walk in front of the churches, which was laid in 1840 by the three religious societies jointly with the city. The societies laid the portions which were directly in front of their respective houses of worship and the city did the rest of the work. This walk has not been repaired between the churches since that date, and its present condition after more than fifty years of service speaks well for the durability and economy of brick sidewalks. In 1852 a flag walk was laid from the south steps of the State House to the brick walk in front of the churches. These were the only paved walks on the Green in 1862.

In 1846 the wooden fence of 1800, which had been a frequent source of expense for repairs, and had now become dilapidated, was removed and the present stone and iron fence put up in its place. The cost, which was \$6,850, was defrayed by an appropriation from the city treasury. Aid was requested from the State as one of the occupants of the Green, but was not extended. In 1848 occurred the improvement already alluded to, the removal of the

Methodist Church from the Green. In 1849 the Dixwell monument was erected in the rear of the Center Church, and in March, 1850, it was accepted by the city with a pledge of protection.

In 1855 the Green was first lighted by gas.

In 1850 the United Society, by permission of the Proprietors' Committee, built an addition of about six feet on the rear of their church edifice.

To prevent the repetition of such permissions the State Legislature, in 1856, passed a law making them invalid unless first ratified and approved by the town at a meeting specially called for that purpose. This enactment, followed as it was by provisions in subsequent City Charters, whereby the management of the Green was vested in the city government, brought to a final end all exercise of jurisdiction over it by the Proprietors' Committee.

In 1862 the building now known as the City Hall was completed. It stands on the site of the County House and jail which had been erected on Church street in 1801. With this event and the subsequent removal to it of the courts and of such public offices as still lingered on the Green, this review may suitably close. It would hardly be complete, however, without a reference to some of the fixtures and appurtenances of the Green, which have been long identified with it, and each of which has a separate history. These are the stocks and the whipping post, the sign post, the liberty pole, the bells and the pumps.

The Stocks and the Whipping Post.

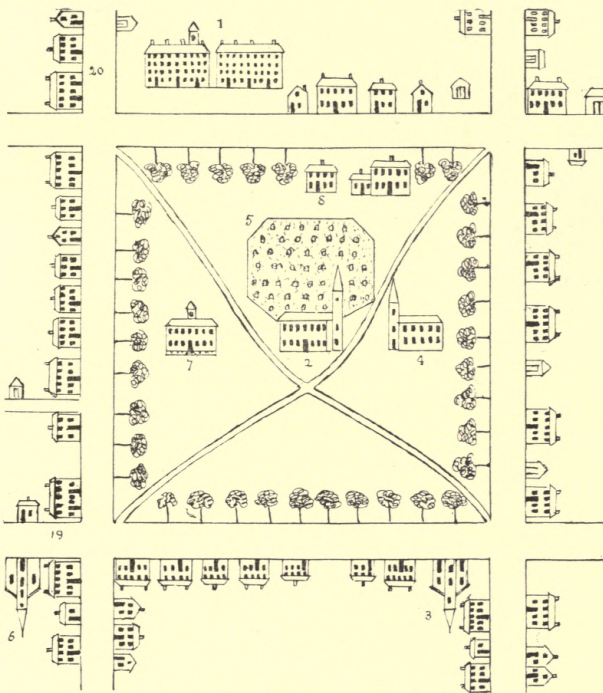
The stocks deserve our first attention because, as we have seen, they were among the earliest if not the earliest appendages of the market place. They doubtless always stood in front of the guard-house or jail, so long as that remained on the Green, in the place where they are shown in Wadsworth's map of 1748. Whether they followed their old neighbor in its migration across the street in 1784, does not appear. They were a recognized institution, however,

until after 1805, for the revision of the State laws of that year contains an enactment requiring stocks to be set up in every town. By the revision of 1808 it appears that drunkards were then set in the stocks, and perjury was punished by placing the offender in the pillory and nailing his ears. The "Revised Statutes" of 1821 make no mention of pillory or stocks, so that both institutions had become obsolete by that time, and the picturesque old stocks were not long in disappearing from the Green.

As to the whipping post, it was always regarded with especial honor by our forefathers as one of the pillars of social order, yet there is no record, map or picture from which we can be sure that it had a separate existence and location. The map of 1748 shows the stocks with a high post at each side, and as it is well known that the stocks and whipping post were sometimes combined, it is possible that that convenient and appropriate arrangement originally prevailed in New Haven. I am informed by persons who recollect the latest whipping post, that it was then identical with the sign post, and this also may have been an early custom. Confirmation of this latter idea is found in a vote of the town, passed in 1683, to establish "a sing post" near the meeting-house; notices having been previously posted on the meeting-house door. "A sign post" was clearly intended by the vote, but it is quite likely that it was also designed to do duty in the other capacity, and a compromise spelling may have been adopted to express the compound use.

After the State House of 1763 was erected this "sing post," or sign post, was placed in front of it on the opposite side of Temple street, and there remained until removed to its present location near the corner of Chapel and Church streets.* Whipping ceased to be a legal penalty in 1825, and there are several persons living who remember the last case of its application in New Haven. The

* When this was written the post stood on the edge of the sidewalk. It has since been moved inside the Green.



- 1 The Old College . Now College Chapel
- 2 First Presbyterian Meeting House
- 3 Second " "
- 4 Third " "
- 5 Ewings Ground

- 6 Church
- 7 Court House
- 8 Gaol or Prison
- 19 Market Street
- 20 College Street

THE GREEN AS SHOWN IN PRESIDENT STILES' MAP OF NEW HAVEN IN 1775.

name of the culprit who enjoyed the high honor of closing the record is also known, and although it is now withheld from considerations of delicacy it will be cheerfully imparted to any society that may be organized, based on this form of ancestral distinction.

It was at the sign post that contracts for the care of the town poor were annually sold to the lowest bidder—and here also took place many sheriff's sales. It was at the sign post that Lois Tritton, who is still living, and her mother were sold as slaves in 1825, the last sale of a slave in New Haven, if not in Connecticut. The original papers of this transaction are in the possession of ex-Gov. Ingersoll and show that its purpose was to give the women their freedom. The sale was by the sheriff under an execution issued on a former judgment against their owner; these human goods and chattels having been levied on to satisfy the execution. The sheriff's return is dated March 10, 1825, and recites that on the 8th of March, 1825, by virtue of the execution, he sold Lucy and Lois Tritton, as the property of the defendant, to Anthony P. Sanford for \$10. A deed of manumission from Mr. Sanford accompanies the documents.

The Liberty Pole.

When the first liberty pole was erected on the Green, is an interesting question which is, however, involved in much obscurity. That it was erected during or just preceding the Revolutionary period, seems probable from the patriotic appellation which is traditionally identified with it. Prior to 1775 Sons of Liberty were erecting liberty poles and planting liberty trees throughout New England. The *Connecticut Journal* of September 1, 1774, mentions one just set up in Wallingford, but after much search I can find no reference in any contemporary newspaper to such action in New Haven. John Adams, in his diary under date of August, 1774, tells of passing through New Haven on his way to attend the first meeting of the Con-

tinental Congress. He says he was received with great parade, firing of cannon and ringing of bells. His complacency over the supposed personal compliment was somewhat dampened by the explanation by his landlord, Mr. Beers, who told him that it had been suddenly got up "in order to divert the populace from erecting a liberty pole." It would appear, however, that the populace were not long diverted, for a letter written October 24, 1774, by Hon. Jared Ingersoll, then in Philadelphia, to his brother in New Haven, contained this inquiry: "Pray tell me whereabouts on the Green the liberty pole stands." The records of the First Ecclesiastical Society of West Haven under date of November 23, 1774, refer to "the extraordinary doings the last week of the liberty pole men of New Haven."

I am informed also that an aged former resident of this city, C. S. Davis, remembers having heard his grandmother speak of going in pre-revolutionary days to the liberty pole on the Green and "smashing her crockery against it." The crockery thus recklessly sacrificed on the symbol of freedom was probably her tea pot, and the time would be about 1774 or 1775. It would appear from these facts that a liberty pole stood on the Green during 1775, but how long it remained there I am not able to say. It would hardly have survived the British invasion of 1779, when the enemy occupied the ground around it for many hours. President Stiles, in his diary, gives an elaborate account of the rejoicing at the advent of peace in 1783, and describes an elegant silk national flag, prepared by the ladies, which he says was displayed at sunrise with a salute of thirteen cannons and "appeared well"; from which it might be inferred that there was a flagstaff to display it on. There is no mention of the flag nor the flagstaff afterwards, however, and although the anniversary of Independence was celebrated quite regularly (though not every year) from 1780 to 1825, there is nowhere any reference to a liberty pole and flag as a feature on such occasions. There are also many pictures and maps of the Green during this

period, and in none of them is there shown any flagstaff upon it. Nevertheless it is probable that one existed most of the time, for the records of the Governor's Foot Guard, under date of April 14, 1814, contains an order for the company, in case of an alarm from the enemy, then in the Sound, to assemble "at the flagstaff on the lower Green."

The city came into existence in 1784, and nothing appears in its records indicating any municipal charge or connection with Fourth of July celebrations until June 7, 1825. On that day the annual city meeting appropriated \$100 for celebrating "the next anniversary of our national independence by salutes and the ringing of the bells of the city churches." It also passed the following vote: "Resolved, That the city will assume the expense of the maintenance of the flagstaff on the public square, and of the flag to be placed thereon." Probably up to this time the flagstaff had been a town institution, and it is certain that the city had not previously owned a flag. The *Daily Herald* newspaper, referring to the vote just mentioned, says: "It will surprise our neighbor cities to learn that this city of 10,000 inhabitants has never owned a national flag." In the following year (1826) the annual city meeting voted as follows: "Resolved, That on each anniversary of national Independence, the flag shall be displayed and the national salute fired between sunrise and sunset under the direction of the Mayor." One hundred dollars was then appropriated for the succeeding Fourth of July and ever since that date a similar appropriation has been annually made, with perhaps one or two exceptions.

Bells on the Green.

The important functions which have been performed by bells on the Green for over two hundred years in summoning to religious, civil, and political gatherings, in voicing public sentiment whether of joy or grief, as the heralds of alarm when danger was pending, and in maintaining a uniform time for the community when clocks and watches were few, entitle them to a prominent notice in this review.

The first bell on the Green was purchased from the skipper of a vessel in the harbor and was kept for several months on trial. In 1685 it was ordered sent to England "to be made bigger." A substitute seems to have been brought from Boston and used for a while. In May, 1688, "it was left with ye townsmen to take care about ye bell to procure one suitable for ye place and to sell ye Old bell, small guns or muskets belonging to ye town toward ye payment for a good bell." As nothing further appears about the bell in the records, it is to be presumed that the one thus purchased proved satisfactory. This bell was still in use in 1763, as the only public bell of the town, and was then owned jointly by the two Congregational societies. In that year the First Society having bought a new bell, proposals were made to purchase the old bell for use in the State House. The society voted to sell its half of the bell and also agreed if the White Haven Society would sell the other half "the said White Haven Society shall have, as usual, the benefit and advantage of this society's present bell at funerals, etc., and of this society's expense in ringing the same on Lord's day, evenings, etc." Two years later, that is to say, on November 1, 1765, the day the stamp act went into operation, this old bell, then hanging in the turret of the State House, joined with the new one in the brick meeting-house and the college bell in a mournful chorus, which is described in the *Connecticut Gazette* of that date as follows: "This morning three bells in this town, which are neighbors, began to toll here and still continue tolling and saluting each other at suitable intervals. They seem to speak the word No—vem—ber in the most melancholy tone imaginable."

Six months later, however, on Monday, May 19, 1766, the same bells rang out a joyful jubilee over the repeal of the obnoxious enactment, and the Green resounded all day with the noise of small arms and cannon and was alive all night with bonfires and dances. The old bell of 1688 continued to summon the courts and all public meetings

which were held in the Court House until that building was taken down in 1828. It was then stored for awhile under the steps of the new edifice, and was captured there one night by some roosting students, who carried it to the tower of the Lyceum building on the campus, and dropped it thence upon the stone step below, to its irretrievable ruin.

An important service of the bell which hung in the old meeting-house and its lineal successors was to ring the curfew at nine o'clock in the evening. This nine o'clock bell was commenced as soon as the bell was purchased in 1682, but appears to have been discontinued before 1750, as the First Ecclesiastical Society voted in that year "to cause the meeting-house bell to be rung constantly at nine o'clock." By 1825 the society had tired of the burden and in December of that year the town voted "to assume the expense of causing a bell to be rung in the morning, at noon and at nine o'clock in the evening, under the direction of the selectmen."

Mr. Barber states in his "Antiquities of New Haven" that "for several years the White Haven Church bell rang at 6 A. M. in the summer and at 7 A. M. in the winter. Trinity bell rang at noon and Center Church bell at 9 P. M." By "Center Church" he probably means the Old Brick meeting-house, and the period he refers to must have been between 1793, when the first bell was put into Trinity (then on Church street, south of Chapel), and 1814, when the White Haven meeting-house was taken down. It appears from the records of Trinity Parish that in 1793 the over-zealous sexton of Trinity commenced ringing a nine o'clock curfew with his new bell on Saturday nights in order to supply its customary omission on that evening as a part of the Puritan Sabbath. After the second ringing his performances were stopped by vote of the Vestry.

There were no railroad trains to catch in those days and uniformity in time throughout the community was more important than absolute exactness, so that the nine o'clock

bell was universally availed of to set the family clocks by. The bell ringer's office was therefore regarded as a responsible one and its incumbent took pride in the faithful performance of his duties; so much so that having on one occasion erroneously rung the bell at ten o'clock he was careful on the next evening to ring it at eight, in order to have the time correct on the average. At some time between 1830 and 1840, on account of the liability to mistake the curfew for a fire alarm, the custom was discontinued. Funeral bells were tolled as lately as 1832. Two years prior to that time, the Medical Society had presented a petition to the Common Council praying for their discontinuance, but it seems to have been overlooked or disregarded, for in 1832 that body appointed the bell ringers as usual and fixed their compensation at fifty cents a funeral. The usage was, however, declining and ceased shortly afterwards.

Closely connected with the subject of bells is that of the town clock, which formerly occupied the tower of the Center Church. It appears to have been placed there on trial by its maker, Eli Terry of Plymouth, prior to 1826, and in that year the city voted to buy it for \$250. While in the Center Church it developed some eccentricities, such as striking continuously for hours together and then, as if exhausted by such excesses, going on a long strike of a less active nature. On May, 1855, it grew so tired of holding up its weights that it dropped one or more of them through two floors into the church organ. After the City Hall was built in 1861 it was transferred to that building, but its conduct there was not entirely exemplary and after numerous efforts for its reform it was removed to its present quarters over the High School, where it seems to have somewhat improved in its deportment.*

* See Note 8.

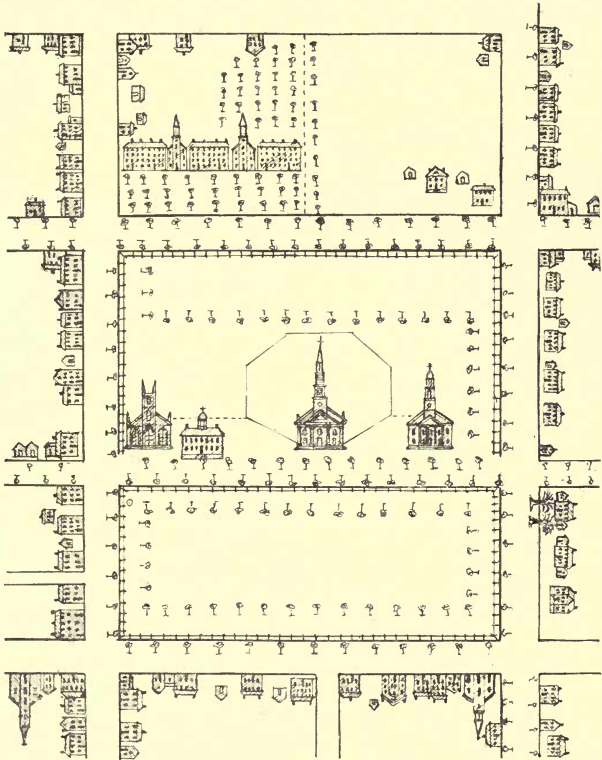
The City Wells on the Green.

It remains only to speak of the public wells and pumps which have been at different times established on the Green. These wells have been four in number and of them only one survives, the one on the corner of Chapel and Church streets. It was dug in 1813 and the present pump and canopy were placed over it in 1878. The oldest public well was located near College street, near the site of the ancient jail, and was probably originally connected with that institution. It is still remembered by many of our citizens. The water was not considered good or wholesome, and the well was closed between 1840 and 1850.

After the city was organized, protection from fire was one of its most urgent necessities, and numerous public wells were opened in various localities. In 1797 a well and pump were established on the lower Green at the corner of Chapel and Temple streets. In 1819 another well and pump were placed on the corner of Elm and Temple streets. Both these wells were generally dry and the pumps constantly out of order. The care and expense of the public wells gave great trouble to the Common Council, and were the subject of numberless votes in that body. But the introduction of water from Lake Whitney, January 1, 1862, brought such matters to a happy close, and brought also a new era in the health, comfort, safety and progress of the city.

This important event, the introduction of water, marks almost as distinct an era in the history of New Haven as the completion of the City Hall during the same year did in the history of the Green. Since that period it has been passing from the character of the rural New England town to that of a large and cosmopolitan city. Where isolated dwellings stood thirty years ago, long rows of compact blocks now line the streets. Foreign faces and foreign costumes swarm along the sidewalks. Cobwebs of electric wires darken the sky, and electric cars fly to and fro through the formerly quiet thoroughfares. But amid all

the changes in its surroundings, the ancient Green as it rests tranquilly under its venerable trees, watched over by the prim and old-fashioned churches, those relics of a by-gone time when religion was a public institution, seems sleeping in the shadows of the past, and dreaming of old or shall we rather say young New Haven. As the city grows more dense and thronged around it, its use as a convenient spot for public buildings can no longer be thought of, but its priceless value as a breathing and resting and gathering place for the people becomes constantly more conspicuous. May it be guarded from encroachment in the future more jealously than in the past; and may our successors in its care of every race and lineage protect its soil, and cherish its traditions with that affectionate veneration which is the heritage and the test of every true son and daughter of New Haven!



THE GREEN AS SHOWN IN DOOLITTLE'S MAP OF NEW HAVEN IN 1817.

NOTES TO PAPER NO. I.

NOTE 1 (page 13).

The Proprietors' Committee is still in existence and since 1810 has made several grants of land, generally for the purpose of clearing titles otherwise doubtful. Its latest action was on February 4th, 1896, when it granted to the Town of New Haven the last remaining tract of Proprietary land, comprising the southern face and slope of West Rock, for the purposes of a Public Park. Thus the work of the Proprietors ends as it began, with devoting a plot of ground to the park system of New Haven.

NOTE 2 (page 13).

See opinion of Corporation Counsel Ely on this point rendered to the Common Council in September, 1896, in accordance with the view here presented.

NOTE 3 (page 21).

The first elm tree planting of which we have any information was in 1686 in front of the dwelling house of Rev. James Pierpont, which stood about where Temple street enters Elm. Two trees were set out there by William Cooper as a gift to Mr. Pierpont and one of them was still standing, almost in the middle of Elm street, in front of the Bristol residence until cut down in 1840. The large elm on the corner of Church and Chapel streets known as "The Franklin Elm," because set out on the day that Franklin died (April 17, 1790), was planted by "Jerry Allen" at request of Thaddeus Beecher, who kept a tavern where the Exchange building stands.

NOTE 4 (page 22).

Dr. Bacon says that a crown surmounted the cupola of the State House until 1807. On the other hand, Mr. Barber says there was no cupola until "early in this century." Mr. Barber is certainly incorrect and Dr. Bacon possibly so as respects the continuance of the royal symbol so long after the Revolution.

NOTE 5 (page 25).

This is the statement made by Judge Simeon Baldwin in a city meeting held September 26, 1843, to consider the disposition of the old market house in Chapel street. Mr. Barber says the building was removed to George street at about the time when the Green fence was erected. As the Market House on George street is shown on Stiles' map of 1775, Judge Baldwin's statement is the most likely to be correct.

NOTE 6 (page 26).

This fence enclosed both sections of the Green separately, as is plainly shown in a painting of the Green made soon after its erection. It would appear however, that when the three present churches were

built in 1814, the fence on the west side of Temple street must have been taken down.

In September, 1821, the Common Council appropriated \$40 "to make a suitable fence on the east side of the west section of the Public Square with a raised walk inside the fence provided the United Society and the Episcopal Society consent to apply the railing around their several buildings with a view to effect the same; and the First Society provide posts equal in value to the post and railing to be used in front of their meeting-house; on these conditions the fence to be put up in October, 1821." From this it would appear that the North Church and Trinity were both surrounded by fences until 1821.

NOTE 7 (page 26).

The Rev. David Austin is said to have planted the inner rows of elms on the east and west sides of the lower Green. He also coöperated with Hillhouse in other city improvements to the detriment, it would appear, of his own financial condition. In 1803 a city meeting appointed "a committee to examine and adjust the account of Mr. David Austin as expended in railing and ornamenting the Green and make report whether anything, and if so what sum, is legally or equitably due to him from the city on account of moneys so expended." No report from this committee appears in the records. Mr. Austin afterwards removed to Texas and founded the City of Austin in that State.

NOTE 8 (page 38).

Mr. Eli Terry, the maker of the Center Church clock, was a pioneer in clock manufacturing in this country and a man of genius. His son, Mr. John Terry, furnishes the following information respecting this clock, which contained several novel features. The train or time-keeping works was placed in the lower part of the tower far below the dials in order to avoid vibration and also the effect of wind and snow upon the hands. The hands were moved by a separate weight which was released by means of a detent every two and a half minutes, the hands remaining stationary during the interval, then jumping the necessary space. When the clock was first placed in the tower two of its dials showed mean solar time and two of them apparent solar time, but this arrangement causing confusion, he caused the clock to run on mean time only. The College clock, however, was run on apparent time and thus there was a continuous difference between the two clocks, sometimes amounting to several minutes. The consequence was great public inconvenience and private exasperation, and a spirited controversy in the newspapers between the advocates of the two different systems. In the end the College authorities yielded and caused their clock to conform to mean solar time, to the great relief of the entire community. Mr. Terry also states that in 1811, on a signal from the Observatory of the College, a heavy gun was fired at noon for several months in order to give the people the exact time to make their noon marks.

II.

THE GREEN AS A POLITICAL AND CIVIC FORUM.

Since the Green was first set apart in 1638 as a market place, it has been under the jurisdiction of nine distinct governments. First, the temporary or provisional government agreed upon by the settlers soon after their landing and which they called "The Plantation Covenant," lasting till October 25, 1639. Second, that created for the town by the so-called "Fundamentall agreement"—and afterwards extended over the Colony of New Haven, under which the church wielded all political power. Third, after 1665, the government established by the Connecticut charter, democratic in its principles, which continued until 1818 and was then succeeded (fourth) by that which still exists under the present Connecticut Constitution. In 1781 the fifth in our enumeration was set in operation—a city government, more or less modified since by occasional amendments.

Co-existing with all these and above them all have been the imperial and national governments successively, which have been four in number. The royal government of Great Britain under Charles I. and his monarchical successors, being the sixth in our list, interrupted for a time by the English Commonwealth, which is seventh; eighth, the United States government under the Confederation, and ninth, since 1788, the present national government under the Federal Constitution. Under all these different allegiances and arising out of them all, the Green has been at successive periods the arena of public demonstrations, actions, or incidents of a political character, the most important of which, occurring between 1638 and 1862, it will be the province of this paper to review in order.

Of the first provisional government, its officers and its doings, no records appear to have been kept. So far as respects the market place, we only know that it set up the stocks and the whipping post there, pursuant to the covenant "to be ordered by those rules which the Scripture holds forth." It continued for a year and six months, when it was superseded by the civil order, whose foundations had been laid in Mr. Newman's barn June 6, 1639, but which was not actually set in operation till October 25 of the same year.

The First Organized Government.

The basis of this system was a social compact pure and simple, called "the Fundamentall agreement," which every planter and new-comer was required to sign. Under this agreement the state did not come into existence until after the organization of a church. Seven men, now generally referred to as the "seven pillars," were first selected to form this church, and to admit into it such persons as they considered worthy of membership. The church thus created proceeded to organize the state, none but its own members being allowed to be electors, or qualified to hold office. All existing offices held under the Plantation Covenant were formally abolished by the new body politic, and magistrates for the town were immediately elected. It was further agreed that all officers should be elected yearly in October and that "the Word of God shall be the only rule to be attended to in ordering the affayres of government in this Plantation."

The first official act of the new government was an exercise of the highest power of civil society, that over human life. An Indian named Nepaupuck had been arrested several days previously charged with murder, and had been waiting more or less patiently in the stocks until a state could be organized to punish him for a crime committed against itself, some months before its own existence. This

little preliminary having been arranged, he had no reason to complain of further inattention. Three days later he had been tried and convicted and his head was adorning the market place as an object lesson to encourage his aboriginal brethren in the ways of peace and pleasantness. It is possible that the execution also took place on the Green, though the record does not so state. If so, it was an exception to the general rule, as all subsequent executions (at least by hanging) appear to have been had in the outskirts of the town. Only one other case of decapitation in New Haven is recorded, and that was applied to another Indian for murder in 1646.

The government and the courts having been thus inaugurated and found to work to everybody's satisfaction, the next step was to erect a meeting-house; meaning thereby, a place for all public gatherings. This rude structure occupied the center of the market place until succeeded by a larger and firmer one in 1670. In it and in its successor till 1719 were held not merely religious services but all town meetings and other meetings of a public nature which required a room of some dimensions.

Once a month or oftener, if occasion required, the general town meeting for local business, or as it was called, "the generall court," was held there. At these meetings not only the electors or "free burgesses" could vote but also "free planters," i. e., owners of land and property who were not church members, and therefore not electors. Attendance upon them was compulsory for both classes on penalty of fine for absence without excuse. The annual and other elections for magistrates were also held in the meeting-house, but at these only the free burgesses were required to be present.

It is a curious circumstance that the present name of the town was not adopted nor apparently ever thought of until more than two years after its settlement. Up to that time the plantation had been stigmatized by a barbarous combination of linguals, palatals and gutterals spelled in at least

thirty different ways,* each more unpronounceable than the rest, which in the course of two centuries has been civilized into "Quinnipiac." The community tired its jaws and rasped its vocal organs over these conflicting aboriginal cognomens until September 1, 1640, when a town meeting, in evident desperation, cut the gordian knot by curtly voting, "This town now called New Haven." None of the early settlers, so far as known, came from New Haven in England and the reason for selecting this name is unexplained. A contemporary document informs us that "London" was talked of and was rejected "only least it should seem too high." This cautious self-restraint suggests that possibly "New Heaven" may have been under consideration and that it was modified into "New Haven" from motives of modest forbearance. It is certain that the pious founders of our city fully believed that it was destined to be an earthly Zion. It is said that Mr. Davenport was a Second Adventist, who looked for the personal reign of Christ on earth, in which case what place more likely than this saintly locality to be chosen for his capital? It must be confessed, however, that as things have turned out "New Heaven" would have seemed a trifle "too high" and that a near approach to it like that which was adopted is more exactly appropriate.

By 1651 the frequent town meetings with compulsory attendance had become burdensome, and in September of that year it was voted to entrust the ordinary affairs of the town to the supervision of nine persons, then called "townsmen," but more lately "selectmen," who were required to regulate their action by the advice and approval of the town meetings. The townsmen, however, soon acquired the habit of conducting all the town business, including its finances, on their own responsibility, and ultimately absorbed its entire management. Their thirst for power was perhaps stimulated by the fact that they originally held their meetings at the ordinary or tavern,

* See Note 1 at the end of this Paper.

and under these circumstances it is not surprising to learn that in 1675 they were complained of in town meeting for immoderate indulgence in liquors at the expense of the town. With virtuous indignation, the Selectmen defiantly replied that during the past year they had spent 30 shillings of the town's money in liquor; that they intended to spend as much more in the next, and that if the town would not pay the score they would pay it themselves. This appalling threat completely paralyzed the meeting. The incipient law and order investigation was promptly suppressed, and the old board was triumphantly re-elected. A precedent having been thus established, doubtless all succeeding boards of selectmen have spent at least thirty shillings of the town's money annually in festive libation, though the fact has not been of later years so easily discoverable in their accounts.

Having now seen the town government fully developed into working order, let us briefly review some of the principal transactions and events of a civil and political nature which have occurred on the market place, beginning with the period of New Haven's independency from 1639 to 1665.

The First Civil and Criminal Code.

The provisional government terminated, as we have seen, October 25, 1639. In 1643 New Haven joined the Confederacy of the United Colonies of New England, consisting of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, the object being mutual support against the Indians and the Dutch. The Confederacy lasted for more than twenty years, during which time its delegates met annually, and at the different colonies successively. These meetings, when in New Haven, were in the meeting-house, the first one being in 1646, when among other business Uncas the Indian Sachem was questioned by the convention with regard to some of his misdoings. When New Haven

Colony joined the Confederacy it consisted of New Haven, Stamford and Southold, on Long Island, but was immediately afterwards enlarged by the accession of Milford and Guilford, which up to that time had been independent plantations, and which were not admitted until after they had adopted the Fundamental agreement, whereby church members only were allowed to vote or hold office. In 1644 the General Court of the Colony assembled in New Haven Meeting-house, voted that the "judicial laws of God as they were delivered to Moses and expounded in other parts of Scripture, so far as they were not typical or ceremonial nor had exclusive reference to Canaan, should be the civil and criminal code of the Colony, till the same be branched out into particulars hereafter."

This adoption of the laws of Moses as the civil and criminal code of the Colony has been sometimes referred to as if it were peculiar to New Haven Colony, but such is not the case. Massachusetts Bay also followed Mosaic law, not only with regard to crimes and punishments but in other matters also, as in the rules of inheritance. Dr. Bacon has suggested that the laws of Moses were preferred to those of England at that period as being more democratic and humane. Another reason probably was that there was but one treatise on the English law then in existence, and the book was scarce, costly and probably unobtainable on this side the ocean. The laws of Moses, on the other hand, as expounded in Scripture, were familiar to everybody and in everybody's possession. The code thus established proved exceedingly elastic and convenient, especially as interpreted and applied by Gov. Eaton, who was judge, jury and prosecuting officer all combined, in his little court room on the market place. Under it cognizance was taken, not merely of misdemeanors and offenses against morality, but of every neighborhood scandal or gossip, disrespectful criticisms of the magistrates, or of Mr. Davenport's sermons, all of which were clearly shown, by citation of chapter and verse, to be contrary to the laws of God as

delivered to Moses and expounded in other parts of Scripture. Nevertheless, it soon began to appear that a branching out into particulars was necessary, and by 1655 a published code of the Colony laws was called for. This was prepared by Gov. Eaton and adopted in 1656, and every provision was fortified by marginal reference to Scripture authority. Thus the statute requiring beer casks to be of London standard is supported by Deut. xxv, 15, and Micah vi, 10, and the law that every militiaman shall have a good and serviceable gun with shot bag, powder and bullets, is shown to be derived from Judges v, 8, I Sam. xiii, 19, 22, and Luke xxii, 36. In this code heretics, who had already begun to trouble Israel, were not forgotten. The ordinance against them expressly disclaims any right to control conscientious belief, and merely forbids the "going about to subvert or destroy the Christian faith and religion" by the inculcation "of any dangerous errors or heresy, with a view to seduce others thereunto." Two years later, in 1658, some months after Gov. Eaton's death, Humphrey Norton, a Quaker, was brought to New Haven under this law, charged with pernicious activity in "testifying," or preaching in public, the doctrine of his sect. On his trial in the little court house on the market place portions of his writings were read, "wherein," as the record declares, "were severall horrible errors and reproaches if not more." Mr. Davenport refuted these direful doctrines in a sermon before a great concourse of people, "the said Humphrey making much hinderance of Mr. Davenport and using a boisterous, bold manner." Subsequently Norton carried his discourtesy so far as to attempt to reply, but was quickly checked and was forthwith whipped, branded and banished in order to make it clear to all that Mr. Davenport had had the best of the argument. Only one other whipping took place under this law, but four persons complained of were admonished and dismissed the Colony.

The Only Trial for Witchcraft.

Gov. Eaton's code also contained a law against witchcraft of course, as did the laws of every civilized country at that time. It was copied from Exodus xxii, 18, and was therefore unquestionably one of the laws of God as delivered by Moses. Only one trial for witchcraft was ever held in New Haven, and that was begun in 1653 before Eaton's Code was adopted. The defendant was an old lady of extreme unpopularity on account of her acrid disposition and disagreeable manners, named Mrs. Goodman, and she in fact started the investigation herself by complaining that Rev. Mr. Hooke and several other neighbors had charged her with being a witch. The result was a complete turning of the tables on Mrs. Goodman, who was called upon to explain many suspicious circumstances by which the alleged slander was caused. Rev. Mr. Hooke declared that his boy had been sick in a very strange manner and he suspected Mrs. Goodman's agency in it, the more especially because she had an unaccountable way of always knowing what had been done at secret church meetings. The record recites an important piece of testimony as follows:

"Time, Mr. Hooke's Indian, said in church meeting she would go out and come in again, and tell them what was done at meeting. Time asking her who told, she answered plainly she would not tell. Then Time said, 'did not ye Devill tell you?'

"Time also said she heard her one time talking to herself and she said, 'who talk you too?' She said, 'To you.' Time said, 'You talke to ye Devill;' but she made nothing of it."

Other evidence equally conclusive is also recited in the record. "Another thing suspicious is that she could tell Mrs. Atwater had figgs in her pocket when she saw none of them; to that she answered she smelt them, and could smell figgs if she came in the room nere them that had them; yet at this time Mrs. Atwater had figgs in her pocket

and came neere her yet she smelt them not." Betty Brewster had had some words with Mrs. Goodman on one occasion, and "that night Betty was in a most miserable case, hearing a most dreadful noise which put her in a great feare and trembling and in ye morning she looked as one yt had bine allmost dead." "Goodwife Thorp complained that Mrs. Goodman came to her house to buy chickens; she said she had none to sell; Mrs. Goodman said 'will you give them all?' So she went away and quickly after one chicken died and she opened it and it was consumed inside to water and wormes, and divers others of them droped and now they are missing and it is likely dead and she never saw either hen or chicken that was so consumed within with wormes." The investigation continued at intervals for about two years, Mrs. Goodman being in jail a part of the time, until October 15, 1655, when Rev. Mr. Hooke brought important additional evidence. Mrs. Goodman had been to his house "to beg some beare and being offered some that had been standing refused it and would hav some newly drawne, which she had, yet went away in a muttering, discontented manner, and after this, though that night the beare was good and fresh, yet the next morning was hot, soure and ill-tasted, yea, so hott as the barrell was warme on the outside and when they opened the bung it steemed forth; they brewed againe and it was also, and so continued foure or five times one after another." The alarming prospect of sour beer in every household brought the magistrates to a prompt decision. The Court "declared unto her that though the evidence is not sufficient as yet to take away her life yet the suspitions are cleare and many, and that she must forbear from going from house to house to give offense and carry it orderly in the family where she is; which if she does not she will cause the Court to commit her to prison againe and that she doe now presently upon her freedom give security for her good behavior in the sum of 50 pounds." The security was given and poor old disagreeable, unpopular Mrs. Goodman was permitted to dwell

undisturbed in the family of Thomas Johnson, where she continued till her death five years later. Commenting on this case Dr. Bacon truly says, "Under almost any other jurisdiction of that age this woman, instead of dying in her bed, would have died upon the gallows or been burned alive." Certainly there is nothing in the deliberate and protracted manner of conducting this, the only witchcraft trial ever had in New Haven, nor in its final result, to make us ashamed of our early magistrates, or which reflects upon their judicial integrity.

Early Political Dissensions.

While the judicial department of the government was thus upholding the morals, manners and orthodoxy of the Commonwealth, the political experience of the Colony was not entirely serene. The feature of its constitution by which church members alone could be either electors or magistrates, produced an unsettled and discontented state of public feeling, especially in the outlying towns where the personal influence of Gov. Eaton and Mr. Davenport was not so dominant as in New Haven. Before many years these towns came to be in a chronic state of rebellion and from time to time leaders of the malcontents were brought before the Court at New Haven, charged with sedition, refusal to pay taxes, and contempt of authority. Even in New Haven the governing saints soon found growing up around them a powerful party of dissatisfied sinners, who constituted then as ever since a large and respectable part of the population. It was in vain that they were invited to obtain civil privileges by joining the church. Either the remedy seemed worse than the disease or the sinners were not bad enough to avail themselves of it; and the example of Connecticut close by, in which political rights had no connection with church membership, was an ever-present stimulus to the growing discontent. When therefore it was known in 1662 that a royal charter

had been sent to Connecticut which confirmed its democratic institutions and laws and extended its jurisdiction over New Haven, the entire population of New Haven Colony outside of the church party were urgent for the union. By the latter, however, it was bitterly opposed and every effort put forth to avert it, and the debates on this subject at the town meetings kept the rude little meeting-house warm from 1662 to 1665. It was manifest, however, from the start, that the conservatives were doomed to defeat, and when the other towns of New Haven Colony began to take the oath of allegiance to Connecticut and to elect magistrates under its authority, it was useless to prolong the contest. With many groans and under a formal protest that it submitted from necessity only, the town voted January 13, 1665, to accept the union provided by the Connecticut charter. The fabric of the political Zion was saved by this abandonment from the disruption which had already commenced. Nevertheless its fall was a bitter disappointment to its surviving founders. Mr. Davenport especially felt it as a fatal blow to his life-long work and hopes, and in 1668, declaring that the cause of Christ in New Haven was miserably lost, exiled himself to Boston, where he died in the following year.

Commercial Disappointments.

The failure of their political system was not the only disappointment which tried the souls of New Haven's founders and furnished agitating topics of discussion at its town meetings. Before 1650, it had become evident that their project of creating a commercial emporium here was blasted, and various disasters had discouraged their hearts and exhausted their resources. In 1641 an attempt had been made to establish a trading colony on the banks of the Delaware Bay, lands having been purchased for the purpose, which included the present site of the city of Philadelphia. This was 40 years before Penn obtained his

grant, and had the enterprise succeeded a removal of the whole population thither would probably have ensued. But the settlement was broken up by the Swedes and Dutch, and a pestilence, and when the project was renewed in 1650, the expedition was stopped at Manhattan by the Dutch governor, its property confiscated, and its members imprisoned. New Haven appealed to the New England Confederation to support it in resisting Dutch violence and the Confederation voted to do so. England was then at war with Holland. Manhattan was defenseless and could easily have been taken. Cromwell sent ships to Boston to assist. An army of 800 men was raised and ready to march, but Massachusetts, although her delegates had voted for the war, refused to act. During the delay caused by her breach of faith, peace was proclaimed in Europe, and New Haven had lost the opportunity to annex New York and Philadelphia to her suburbs. Doubtless the air over the market place was blue about this time with remarks uncomplimentary to Massachusetts, and the magistrates addressed a letter to her authorities full of reproach for having broken the Confederation; with allusions to Jabin, King of Canaan, the Gibeonites, Adonibezek and other reprehensible characters which were evidently intended to make their erring sister feel extremely uncomfortable.

In 1654 another attempt was made to revive the Delaware enterprise with a view to removal. It was discussed in town meetings for three or four years, but the discouragement was so great that it fell through at last, and the last hope of founding a commercial city was abandoned. The original colonists were growing old, and had sunk nearly all their capital. Besides the heavy losses on the Delaware, the "Great Shippe" of 100 tons built and freighted with a supreme effort in 1646 had been swallowed up, sending back no sign of its fate but the phantom which two years later mocked their straining eyes for a moment and then "vanished in a smoaky cloud." So strongly were the minds of the whole community bent on removal that

not only Delaware Bay was considered, but subsequently a proposal received from Oliver Cromwell, then Lord Protector, to provide them a location in Jamaica. This proposition was earnestly debated in successive town meetings, with strong inclination to accept it; but after long consideration was given up, largely because the people were too poor and dispirited to make the change. It had now become evident that New Haven must mainly depend for its subsistence on the hard and meager returns of agriculture, and the people settled down with such resignation as they could to the necessity of the situation.

Arrival of the Regicides.

In the summer of 1660, it was known in New Haven that the English Commonwealth had come to an end and that a king was again on the throne. The situation of the New England Colonies as notorious sympathizers with the rebellion was critical, and not long afterwards, to complicate their anxieties, the regicides, Goffe and Whalley, landed at Boston, fleeing for their lives to the only part of the world where they could hope for safety. From Boston they came to New Haven in March, 1661, followed in May by officers with a warrant for their arrest. The story of their concealment here, the bold appeal of Mr. Davenport "to hide the outcast and bewray not him that wandereth," the conference in the court room of the market place between the baffled pursuers and the magistrates, the fidelity and daring of the whole community in behalf of the refugees, which ensured their final escape,—all these will never be forgotten, as forming an episode of lasting honor in the history of New Haven. In fact, Massachusetts was alarmed at the possible consequences to New England and remonstrated with New Haven concerning its conduct. It is probable that the authorities here also became somewhat uneasy, and thought it best to cover up their action by an effusive demonstration of loyalty. Accordingly three

months later, i. e., August 22, 1661, at nine o'clock in the morning, pursuant to a vote by the town the day before, although it was more than a year after the news of the Restoration had been received, the troops were drawn up in front of the meeting-house and proclamation was publicly made, that "we do acknowledge his Royal Highness, Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to be our sovereign Lord and King, and that we do acknowledge ourselves the inhabitants of this Colony to be his majesties loyall and faithful subjects." Then with the cry "God save the King" to the beating of drums and a royal salute from the guns of the soldiers, the ceremony ended.

It was at this juncture that John Winthrop reached Hartford, bringing a royal charter for Connecticut which confirmed and established its existing government and privileges and extended its jurisdiction so as to embrace the colony of New Haven. Nothing could have been more opportune or fortunate for New Haven, since by this arrangement she would not only be at once relieved from all further danger on account of her contumacy in the matter of the regicides, but would secure legal recognition and protection as a body politic; while without a charter she would be liable to treatment as an outlaw. These obvious considerations and the clear necessity of the case were of themselves a conclusive argument in favor of union with Connecticut, apart from the internal dissensions of the colony already adverted to. The change, however, brought about was a happy one. Government by the saints had proved a total failure, and the lesson was taught, if not permanently learned, that that political creed which begins and ends with supporting only men of the best character for office without regard to their views of governmental policy, is a defective one, whether embodied in a state constitution or in the practice of the "independent" voter.

Under the Connecticut Charter.

After the union had become an accomplished fact, that is to say, after 1665, the political atmosphere of the market place became more tranquil. The County Court, newly established by the laws of Connecticut, with judge and jury, concerned itself with legal offenders only and ceased to be a wash-house for all the dirty linen of the community. The town government was undisturbed and there were plenty of subjects for discussion in the town meetings. In 1675 the dark cloud of King Philip's war overshadowed all New England, and New Haven had its share of the excitement. The alarm was so great that it was voted to surround the town with a palisade, and the work, by the arduous labor of a year, was accomplished. The meeting-house was fortified and all persons was ordered to bring their arms with them to the Sunday services. The neighboring Indians were placed under surveillance; the nightly watch, which had fallen into disuse, was re-established, and troops were raised and drilled in the market place and marched forth from it to join the united army of New England for service in the field.

Ten years after the close of Philip's war there were gatherings in the market place to discuss new political events of ominous importance. James II., the worst of the Stuarts, and an old enemy of New England, had come to the throne, and a royal envoy, Sir Edmond Andross, had already arrived in Boston with instructions to cancel all the New England charters and to rule the colonies as their governor under sole authority of the king. In October, 1687, Andross reached Hartford on this mission, and though thwarted in his attempt to get possession of the Connecticut charter, he abrogated its authority and assumed governmental powers. Not many days afterwards New Haven was thrown into a flurry of excitement by his arrival in person. Here he spent Sunday and attended service in the meeting-house, where it is said he was welcomed with

sacred music in which the following hymn was expressively rendered, each line being given out separately and sung by the whole congregation:

Why dost thou tyrant boast abroad
 Thy wicked works to praise?
 Dost thou not know there is a God,
 Whose mercies last always?

Why doth thy mind yet still devise
 Such wicked wiles to warp?
 Thy tongue untrue in forging lies
 Is like a razor sharp.

Thou dost delight in fraud and guile
 In mischief, blood and wrong.
 Thy lips have learned the flatt'ring style
 O, false deceitful tongue!

It is also reported that the Governor criticised this particular praise service as containing a somewhat objectionable mixture of religion and politics. If so, he was probably the first but certainly not the last person who has made a similar remark after attending divine worship in that ancient meeting-house or one of its successors.

Under the reign of Andross the General Assembly of Connecticut was abolished, and all laws were sent from Boston to be publicly read. Happily this condition of affairs did not last long. On the 3d of May, 1689, a town meeting was called hurriedly and the joyful announcement made that a revolution had occurred in England, James II. was an exile and Andross was in prison at Boston. The charter government was at once re-established and a month later William and Mary were proclaimed in the market place. There was no delay this time, and no lack of enthusiasm.

During the hundred years which elapsed between the union with Connecticut and the excitement which culminated in the Revolutionary war, the political events which occurred on the Green were not for the most part very stirring. They consisted chiefly of the town and colony elections and of the town meetings for local business. In

these there were many discussions concerning school and college affairs, which belong more properly to the educational history of the Green; and others with reference to the settlement and support of ministers, which are connected with its religious history. The most important changes in the civil and governmental machinery took place in 1701.

In that year Justices of the Peace were first elected, and Justice Courts established, and the court system was farther enlarged by the establishment of the Superior Court. Strange to say, all this paraphernalia of courts and even the existence of a flourishing jail failed to develop a County Bar, or even for many years a single professional lawyer; a circumstance which may possibly explain the prevalent tranquility in politics and activity in religion. In the same year, 1701, New Haven became a co-capital with Hartford and the October sessions of the General Assembly began to be held here, the May session being held in Hartford. There being no State House until 1719, the meeting-house on the market place was used until that date for the lower and larger branch. The Council, which consisted of only twelve persons, held its sessions sometimes at Mr. Miles' tavern, and at least once (in 1717) in the newly erected College Hall.

Royal Accessions Proclaimed.

It may be that the loyal people of New Haven celebrated the accession of Queen Anne to the throne in 1702, but no memorandum to that effect appears on the town records.

News of Queen Anne's death and of the accession of George I. was received in October, 1714, and on the 4th of that month, by order of the General Assembly, proclamation was made of these events with appropriate ceremony. "Minute guns were fired during the forenoon in honor of the departed sovereign," and in the afternoon her successor was proclaimed at the head of the regiment, which was drawn up under arms "in the Great Square before the

Court House.”* Every soldier was furnished with half a pound of powder to make a racket with, and with “wine and biskitt” in unlimited quantities. In the evening there were illuminations, but from apprehensions as to the stimulating effects of “the biskett” bonfires were strictly forbidden.

In 1727 another change of sovereigns called forth a specially brilliant demonstration. It was in October, and the General Assembly, then in session here, resolved to do loyal honor to the occasion. It was accordingly ordered “that his Majesty King George the Second be proclaimed at New Haven Wednesday, October 4th.” Also that “the troop of the County of New Haven, five of the eldest foot companies in the town of New Haven and two foot companies from Milford attend the proclamation,” and that “a treat of 30 pounds be made for their refreshment.” Also “that a quarter of a pound of powder be furnished for each centinel and sufficient powder for discharging three of the Great Guns.” Candles were ordered for illuminating the State House and the Sheriff was specially enjoined “to bring to the same place a barrel of good wine at the expense of the County for refreshment of ye Assembly.” A later entry records that the orders were carried out both in the letter and the spirit; that not only the Governor and Council and Assembly but also the Reverend Trustees of Yale College and the clergy were on hand to dispose of the barrel of wine; and a great concourse of people being present, all the officials “took the oath of allegiance and the solemn declaration against Popery, according to the Act of Parliament.”

The last event of this kind which occurred on the market place was that in honor of George III., the repudiation of whose rule 25 years later has been the cause of more celebrations upon its surface than any other event in our history. The account of the ceremony in the *Connecticut*

* As the first Court House was not built until 1719, the building here meant must have been the meeting-house where the General Assembly or “General Court” was holding its session.

Gazette is quite elaborate. The day was January 22, 1761, and we are told that "notwithstanding the severity of the season, a great concourse of people, with two troops of horse and four companies of foot, convened with great alacrity" at noon on "the great square before the Town House, (i. e., the State House of 1719, near the corner of Elm and College streets.)" The Governor read a lengthy proclamation reciting the death of "George II. of blessed and glorious memory," and "acknowledging with one full voice and consent of heart all faith and constant obedience with all hearty and humble affection to our only lawful and rightful liege lord, George III.," giving a full list of his titles and concluding with the formula, "God save the King." The proclamation, it is added, "was subscribed by his honor the Governor, the Deputy Governor and the gentlemen of the Council and many other gentlemen of a civil, military and ecclesiastical character, and was followed by three general huzzas and a royal salute of 21 cannons." After which the Governor and other persons of distinction proceeded to Mr. Beers' tavern, where, before the company separated, we are assured that many "loyal healths were drunk" but what or who else the narrator does not inform us.

Approach of the Revolution.

Two years after this loyal demonstration the political atmosphere of the market place was being stirred by currents which blew in quite a different direction. The interference by Great Britain with the commercial and manufacturing pursuits of the Colonies was already arousing a spirit of resistance and stimulating a disposition to protect and encourage home industries, a disposition which seems at the present day to have not entirely died out.

In February, 1763, a town meeting adopted resolutions recommending the non-importation from abroad of such goods and articles as could be produced in the colonies and the refusal to purchase them if imported. In 1765

the excitement was increased by the Stamp Act, and numerous town meetings, held sometimes in the State House and sometimes in the Brick Meeting-house, denounced it and voted to disobey it. The courts were requested to disregard its requirements entirely, at the risk of having their proceedings declared invalid, and protection was promised to the officials if they would do so. The tolling of the bells on the Green on the day the act took effect has been described in a previous paper, and also the jubilation which six months afterwards greeted the news of its repeal. In 1768 other non-importation agreements were adopted in public meeting, and when in 1770 the New York merchants repudiated them, the merchants of New Haven assembled at the State House and voted to boycott New York by transferring their trade to Boston and Philadelphia. Later in the year a convention of delegates from Connecticut towns met in the State House and voted to modify the list of contraband articles so far as to permit, among other things, the importation of powder and shot.

In May, 1774, the British government having closed the port of Boston as a punishment for the destruction of tea, a town meeting appointed a Committee of Correspondence to confer with the other colonies for the protection of American liberties and rights. On the 20th of June following, the town passed a resolution in favor of a general annual Congress of all the American Colonies. A later meeting voted to transmit aid to the suffering town of Boston and directed the selectmen to buy powder and build a powder-house. It was this powder and the key of this powder-house which Benedict Arnold and the New Haven Foot Guards, after the battle of Lexington, demanded from the not unwilling selectmen assembled in the town house.

We may imagine the popular excitement on the Green when the news of the battle of Bunker Hill reached town, and the admiring crowds there when, a few days later, Gen. Washington and staff arrived, on their way to

Cambridge, to take command of the American army. They stayed at Mr. Beers' tavern, where the New Haven House now stands, and "early next morning," as the newspaper informs us, "they set out for the Provincial Camp near Boston attended by great numbers of the inhabitants of the town. They were escorted out of town by a company of young gentlemen belonging to the Seminary in this place, who made a handsome appearance and whose expertness in the military exercises gained them the approbation of the generals." Probably nearly as much interest was felt at least in social circles when in December of the same year "the lady of his Excellency, Gen. Washington, and the lady of the Adj. Gen. Gates arrived in town from Virginia, being on their way to Cambridge." In the following April, 1776, the British having been meantime expelled from Boston, Gen. and Mrs. Washington were again in New Haven on their way to the seat of war in New York.

During the Revolution.

My limits will not permit detailed reference to the numerous meetings, official and popular, which were held on the Green in the course of the Revolution, relating to its progress and the share of New Haven therein. Fortifications, beacons and alarms were provided for, also the raising, equipment and supplies of troops and the care of their families. Strange to say, the Declaration of Independence does not seem to have awakened any public demonstration, and it does not appear to have been officially proclaimed or even promulgated, unless from the pulpits. It is referred to in the newspapers in no other way than as a part of the current news of the day, without display or comment,* and we do not know that a single gun was fired or a single cheer raised on the Green in honor of the nation's birth. At the October session of the Legislature, however, held in New Haven, that body passed an act in

* See Note 2.

recognition of the new order of things. This act declared the charter of Charles II. to be the civil constitution of the state, under the sole authority of the people thereof, independent of any prince or king whatever, and that this republic is and shall forever remain a free, sovereign and independent state by the name of the State of Connecticut." Exit "our only rightful and lawful liege lord, George III.," to whom in 1761 we pledged all faith and constant obedience with all hearty and humble affection."

In January, 1778, an important convention of delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania, assembled at New Haven, called by Congress in the vain hope of bolstering up the commercial value of the depreciating Continental currency by resolutions regulating prices. They met in the State House and were in session about two weeks. A report was adopted fixing prices for nearly all the necessaries of life including "a bole of toddy" and "mug of flip." The high charges for liquor at this time seems to have been a source of much public anxiety. In 1779 it was voted by a town meeting that "the town disapproves of a greater price for good West India rum than 32 dollars a gallon at retail and will treat with proper contempt all who sell for more or refuse trade." To prevent any mistake as to the meaning of this vote a committee was appointed "to report the sense of the meeting to Capt. Elisha Forbes."

In May, 1778, Gen. Benedict Arnold, who had in September previous distinguished himself at the battle of Saratoga, and in the capture of Burgöyne, arrived in town and was received with public honors. In conspicuous contrast with this demonstration was one in October, 1780, with reference to the same individual after his treason. On that occasion a procession was the principal feature, in which an effigy of Arnold was carried, seated on a platform; a figure of the devil was behind him shaking a purse of money in one hand and holding in the other a pitchfork, while a transparency in front illustrated his trea-

sonable act. Following the platform were numerous prominent citizens and military officers, who paraded with it through the principal streets and then burned the images on the Green in a public bonfire.

In 1781 the town made amends for its neglect to celebrate the Declaration of Independence by a great public rejoicing over the defeat of Cornwallis. We learn from the *Connecticut Journal* that "a numerous assembly convened at the Brick Meeting-house, where the audience was highly entertained with an animating, pathetic and ingenious oration delivered by one of the tutors, and a triumphant hymn sung by the students. The clergy and a number of other gentlemen dined in the State House. In the evening the State House, College and all houses around the market place were beautifully illuminated. The whole was conducted with the greatest regularity, good nature, festivity and joy." Still more exuberant were the joyful demonstrations in 1783 which celebrated the Treaty of Peace and the acknowledgment by Great Britain of the independence of the United States. "The day was ushered in by a discharge of thirteen cannons paraded on the Green for that purpose under elegant silk colors, with the coat of arms of the United States most ingeniously represented thereon, which was generously contributed upon the occasion by the ladies of the town." At nine o'clock a great multitude crowded the Brick Church, where there were services with anthems, and singing by all the choirs in concert, and "a very ingenious oration spoken by Tutor Goodrich." Dr. Stiles records in his diary: "I prayed a thanksgiving prayer of XL minutes." In the afternoon a dinner was had at the coffee house with thirteen patriotic toasts responded to by cannon, and in the evening fireworks, rockets, etc., and a bonfire on the Green. We are also assured that a most pacific disposition and heartfelt joy was universally conspicuous and most emphatically expressed by the features of every countenance." As a fitting sequence to this happy event, early in the follow-

ing year a town meeting voted to bury the bloody shirt with respect to resident Tories, and thus the Revolutionary War so far as New Haven was concerned was brought to a final and satisfactory end.

Under the First City Charter.

The year 1784 began a new era in New Haven's political relations, through the organization of a city government, which took place at the State House, February 11, 1784. At this meeting the city charter was accepted and Roger Sherman chosen Mayor with no limitation to his term of office except the pleasure of the General Assembly.* In 1791 Mr. Sherman was chosen a United States Senator, and he continued to hold both offices until his death in 1793.

Scarcely had the wheels of city government begun to revolve when the discovery was made of an important omission in the charter. No powers had been granted to extend to illustrious visitors "the freedom of the city," and this vital defect had to be remedied by a special act of the Legislature. When thus authorized to act, a city meeting immediately bestowed "the freedom of the city" upon Hon. William Michael St. John de Creve Coeur, Consul General to his most Christian Majesty for the State of Connecticut, New Jersey and New York, and also upon his children and "his wife Mehitabel." The lady, whose name suggests New England origin, was the only dame, colonial or other, who was ever thus honored in New Haven. Whatever regrets we may feel on this account, we shall probably agree that the practice of granting the freedom of the city to children, if it became general, might have its disadvantages. In the following year the fountain of honor was again opened for the benefit of several titled Frenchmen, not so fortunate as to possess American wives, after which it suddenly dried up.† In fact, it was soon found that comers

* See Note 3.

† See Note 4.

from foreign shores had no trouble in securing the full freedom of the city without any special effort to aid them on the part of the municipal authorities.

It is proper to state that the municipal hospitality was not exclusively aristocratic in its scope. In 1784 a city meeting held in the State House appointed a committee to welcome and assist all strangers coming to reside in New Haven, to furnish them with all necessary information "and to cultivate their acquaintance so that their residence may be rendered as agreeable and eligible as possible." The population of the city was then about 3,500 and doubtless the large increase which has since occurred has been principally due to the enthusiastic way in which these cordial sentiments toward "interlopers" have always been carried out by our town-born citizens.

Like the Declaration of Independence, that other great event, the adoption of the present United States Constitution in 1787, seems to have attracted little attention commensurate with its importance. The town appointed delegates to the State Convention which was called to act upon its ratification and instructed them to approve it, but no other notice appears in the public records. Two years later, in October, 1789, an interesting occurrence, partly political in its nature, enlivened the Green,—the visit of President Washington on his tour through New England. The local press, for once, gives full particulars of this occasion. The Legislature was in session and took suitable action for the President's reception, with an escort, salutes, and an inevitable address. The Congregational ministers were also out in force with another address of congratulation and eulogy. The President, who travelled in his own carriage, arrived on Saturday afternoon and staid over Sunday, attending service in the morning at Trinity Church, which then stood on Church street near Chapel, and in the afternoon at the Blue Meeting-house on the corner of Elm and Church streets. At the latter service a great congregation attended, expecting a specially grand dis-

course in honor of the occasion. To their great chagrin the pastor, Rev. Dr. Edwards, gave out the text, "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it," and added, "In speaking from these words I direct my remarks principally to the children in the galleries." On the President's return he spent another night in New Haven, but there was no public demonstration.

As already stated, the city government was organized in the State House then standing on Temple street. In this building all city meetings were held till 1805, and generally thereafter till 1828, when for three years, until the new State House was completed, they were held in the basement of the Methodist Church near the corner of Elm and College streets; thereafter until 1880 or later they were held in the basement of the new State House. The Common Council held its sessions in the State House till 1803, then for two years in private offices and dwelling-houses. After 1805 it occupied a room in the County House, then recently built where the County Court House now stands.

In 1794 the Chamber of Commerce was organized in the State House. This institution, though long dormant, is now doing good work for New Haven and promises to be an important agency in its future prosperity.

National Politics in Town and City Meetings.

For many years after the new national government went into operation the town and city meetings were in the habit (now carefully avoided) of passing resolutions and voting addresses to the President, Congress and other political bodies on the subject of national affairs. In 1793 President Washington was assured in five long resolutions that his policy of neutrality was warmly approved and that "the people of the town would exert themselves to promote a conduct friendly and impartial towards the nations of Europe." In April, 1796, a city

meeting voted an address to the House of Representatives in Congress deprecating any action hostile to Jay's treaty with Great Britain, which had then been recently ratified. In 1801 the administration of John Adams was enthusiastically applauded and in succeeding years that of Jefferson was vigorously and continuously assailed. The transcendent virtues of that statesman were not generally appreciated in New Haven till a much later date, and the resolutions which were frequently adopted in town meetings concerning him did not at all resemble the eulogistic allusions of a Monticello Club in 1892.

In 1808, 78 vessels being then shut up in New Haven harbor by the "Dambargo," and the commercial prosperity of the town apparently in its last gasp, a lengthy memorial of protest was adopted in town meeting addressed to President Jefferson, to which the President returned an unsatisfactory reply. The town responded in the following January, 1809, with some still more vehement resolutions, declaring the embargo to be unconstitutional, hinting at open resistance and calling on the Governor and Legislature to meet and take measures for the protection of its rights. The embargo was raised in 1809, but other measures followed almost equally obnoxious which aroused repeated complaints. The last memorial in 1814 represented New Haven as "already reduced to poverty and wretchedness." Relief came at last with peace in 1815, but the commercial interests of New Haven did not recover from the blows they had received and its career as a manufacturing town practically dates from this period.

Great was the rejoicing on the Green when the news of peace arrived. Bells rang, cannons were fired, small boys chalked "peace" on doors and fences, and it is hinted by Mr. Trowbridge that "most of the rum which had weathered the gales of non-intercourse, the embargo act and the blockade was consumed on the joyful night of February 13, 1815." A week later most of the citizens who were sufficiently sober, "repaired to the new Brick Meeting-

house (the present Center Church) to hold a Thanksgiving service, where discourses were delivered by Dr. Dwight and Messrs. Merwin and Taylor."

It must not be supposed that there were no oratorical or other political displays on the Green during Jefferson's and Madison's administrations, except from their federalist opponents. A small contingent of democrats, with Abraham Bishop for their spokesman and leader, made nearly as much noise in Fourth of July orations, public banquets in the State House and other opportunities as the federalists, who held the town and state offices, and who constituted the great body of the people. By 1816, the little faction had combined with itself all the elements of popular discontent especially with respect to religious grievances, and under the name of the Toleration Party was able in 1817 to carry the State and the Legislature. The immediate result of the Toleration triumph was the State Constitution of 1818, which swept away some ancient abuses and brought about in time a nearly equal balance of the two political parties in the State. Henceforth town and city meetings bestowed little attention on general politics, except in the annual elections.

Under the new Constitution, the sessions of the Legislature became annual and were held in Hartford and New Haven alternately. On May 31, 1820, New Haven Green for the first time in its history beheld the annual pageant known as the "election parade," when the Governor is inaugurated with civil and military display at the opening of the Legislature. An election sermon was then an invariable feature, and on this occasion it was preached in the North Church. These election parades have now, so far as New Haven is concerned, passed into ancient history, and the Green, to which they were for two generations familiar, knows them no more. The last of them and the last session of the Legislature in New Haven took place in 1874. Whatever disadvantage the loss of the General Assembly has been to the Green in other respects, it has

not impaired the freshness and fragrance of its political or moral atmosphere.

After 1820, the city turned its attention to public improvements and found in the Farmington Canal a subject for abundant contemplation. Numerous meetings relating to it were held through a quarter of a century to consider successively how to get into the enterprise, how to maintain it, and how to get out—all of which problems were finally solved at a loss to the people of New Haven of over \$1,000,000. Since that experience both town and city have been somewhat conservative with regard to investments in public enterprises. Nevertheless in 1853, a city meeting held on the Green voted to construct municipal water works, a measure which evoked violent opposition, and led to other and tumultuous city meetings, by which the project was finally defeated. The excitement at the last one was great. As the crowd could not be accommodated in the State House, the meeting adjourned to the open air, where the leader of the opposition mounted a tree for a better survey of the situation, and addressed the moderator from its topmost branches.

The Temperance Movement.

While the city was thus agitated by the subject of water, the town was undergoing the throes of a controversy between the same fluid and certain exhilarating rivals of an alcoholic nature. The temperance reform took organized shape about 1840 in Washingtonian and Martha Washington societies. These associations for several years made frequent public demonstrations on the Green, with large and enthusiastic processions, often with delegations from neighboring towns. There were music and banners and vehicles bearing awful examples of the drink habit, in striking contrast with beautiful young ladies who wore badges inscribed with the blood-curdling motto, "Tee total or no husband." Moral suasion, however, even though

enforced by such rigorous alternatives, failed to destroy the liquor traffic, and temperance soon became a political issue. In 1854 the so-called "Maine law" was passed. By this enactment the sale of liquor by private parties was forbidden, and was entrusted to the towns alone. Each town was empowered to appoint an agent for the purpose, and sales were to be made for medicinal, chemical and sacramental uses only, the agent to keep a record of every sale with the name of the purchaser and the purpose of the purchase. The law was appointed to take effect August 1st, 1854, and in preparation for the period of thirst that seemed likely to ensue thereafter, all prudent persons proceeded to lay in abundant stores of stimulating beverages, so that for several weeks the liquor traffic assumed enormous proportions. As the dreaded day approached every vehicle in town, from wheelbarrows to hackney coaches, seemed to be engaged in the transportation of liquid refreshment in every form of receptacle, and even the most reputable temperance advocates were sometimes seen with lumps in their garments which they were careful to protect from contact with stone posts and other hard obstacles. Four several times in August and September vast and turbulent crowds assembled at the State House in town meeting to vote on the establishment of a town agency, or as its deriders called it, "A Maine law grog shop." After three defeats the supporters of the law carried the day by a small majority in an enormous vote. The agency was established and continued to make sales until March, 1857, when it ceased to do business. The medicinal column of its records during these three years would seem to indicate an unusually sickly period in New Haven, which, however, is not confirmed by medical statistics. Toward the end its sales rapidly declined, as invalids found no difficulty in procuring their medicine where no record was required and where, as they generally claimed, its quality was more remedial than that of the town agency's article. The law was not repealed for many years, but it remained a

dead letter on the statute book, an object lesson, like so many others before and since, to show that while the community may be strongly in favor of a law it may also be generally opposed to its enforcement.

Public Receptions.

Returning to 1824, the most conspicuous event in that year with which the Green is associated was the reception of General Lafayette. On that occasion New Haven outdid itself in the enthusiasm and brilliancy of its welcome. The General had visited the town in 1778, and it is needless to say he now declared himself astonished at its improvement. Like the Queen of Sheba when she visited Solomon, he was shown all the treasures and glory of the city. He was profoundly impressed with the martial bearing of the Horse Guards, whom he reviewed on the Green; and when he had inspected the College cabinet and viewed the College library, which was kept over a loft in the old chapel, and had seen the new cemetery then recently inclosed by a picket fence, there was no more spirit in him.

Another visit of importance was that of President Jackson in 1833. He was just then more generally popular in New Haven than at a later period on account of his recent stand against nullification. He arrived on Saturday, and Sunday being a day of rest, his repose was provided for by conducting him to three religious services during the day. Trinity was taken in the morning, the North Church early in the afternoon and the Methodist immediately after; the service in the latter church, we are told, had been prolonged so that the President might arrive before its close. Needless to say, the sermon was not addressed to the children in the galleries. It was charged by some political enemies that Mr. Van Buren, who was of the Presidential party, was profanely restless under these

copious droppings of the sanctuary, but the heroic fortitude of Old Hickory was not called in question.*

The visits of later Presidents may be briefly referred to; that of President Polk in 1847, and that of President Buchanan in 1858. On both these occasions the principal ceremonies took place on the south portico of the State House, an admirable site for public receptions, for which a suitable substitute on the Green is as much a municipal necessity as is a good landing place on our water front. It was on this same portico that Kossuth was received, April 23, 1852, by one of the greatest and most enthusiastic multitudes ever assembled on the Green for a similar occasion. Bells rang, cannons were fired, and a military escort with a great procession, including all the civil functionaries, accompanied the illustrious visitor from the railroad station to the State House steps. There he was formally welcomed by the honorable Mayor in a burst of eloquence which left the great orator but little chance to distinguish himself. The mission of Kossuth failed to relieve Hungary from Austrian oppression, but it conferred an inestimable benefit on this country by releasing it from bondage to the stove pipe hat. In imitation of our example the same tyrant is fast being dethroned abroad, and thus in one important particular the great Hungarian promoted the object which he so eloquently advocated—the solidarity of the nations.

Political Conventions on the Green.

After 1820, as already remarked, political discussions were banished from town and city meetings and relegated to partisan assemblages. Of such assemblages the Green has ever since been a favorite gathering place. During the administrations of Jackson and Van Buren they took the form of political processions, generally followed by a banquet in the State House. In the campaign of 1840,

* See Note 5.

known as the Log Cabin and Hard Cider campaign, they expanded into mass conventions of county or state. On the appointed day delegations from other towns arrived in long cavalcades of gaily-decorated carts loaded with men, women and children, banners and cider barrels, log cabins and coons. These assembled on the Green and then paraded the streets, lustily singing campaign songs extremely laudatory of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," and highly derisive of "Van, Van," who was declared to be "a used-up man." Such indeed proved to be the case when the votes were counted, but the death of Harrison and the defection of Tyler "blasted the counsels of the brave in their hour of might," and in 1844 it became necessary for the Whigs to fight the battle over again with Henry Clay as their candidate. Their enthusiasm was unbounded, but their opponents were better organized than in 1840 and there was a more equal use of the Green by the two parties as the arena for their respective assemblages and oratorical displays. Then followed the Mexican war and next the prolonged and exciting agitation over slavery in the territories, the Fugitive Slave law, the compromise measures, the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and finally the struggle between freedom and slavery for the possession of Kansas. Through this eventful period there was no place where the fires of political discussion blazed more frequently or more fiercely than on the Green. At Fourth of July celebrations, and during election campaigns, open-air meetings were held there and excited crowds heard harangues in behalf of Free Soil and Bleeding Kansas, or appeals to save the Union by conceding the demands of slavery; and as to the pulpits on the Green and their utterances when such tremendous moral issues were at stake, it is enough to say that one of them was occupied by Samuel Dutton and another by Leonard Bacon.

In March, 1856, occurred the famous Kansas Rifle meeting in the North Church. It was begun as a semi-religious service held on a week-day evening to bid farewell to a

band of citizens who were about going to Kansas as settlers in the interest of freedom. Henry Ward Beecher addressed them and there was not a thought of presenting them with arms until it was spontaneously suggested by that noble embodiment of every personal and civic virtue, Prof. Silliman senior. The rifles never did much damage directly to the Border Ruffians, but the fame of the event spread throughout the country. The hint was taken and the example followed by every emigrant aid society which sent out its party thereafter, with the result that Kansas was saved and formed an outpost of the utmost importance in the war for the Union.

The story of the two presidential contests of 1856 and 1860 is familiar history. It hardly need be said that the Green was the center of the political turmoil in New Haven, the field of numberless gatherings of the contending parties, and illuminated night after night by torch-light processions, then a new feature in election campaigns, premonitors of the armed hosts which those electoral struggles engendered. On November 7, 1860, the roar of cannons on the Green announced that Abraham Lincoln was elected. On Saturday, April 13, 1861, came news of the capture of Fort Sumter and with it the President's call to arms. At that signal all political questions melted into one—"Shall the nation perish?" a question to be solved not by discussion, but by the clash of arms. As the curtain descends on this retrospect of the Green as a political and civic forum, we catch a glimpse beneath it of long lines of men marching upon the stage by companies from every town and village, from every hillside and valley in the Old Commonwealth. To-day they are farmers, mechanics, clerks and business men. To-morrow they will be soldiers; actors in the mighty drama of tragedy which is about to open.

NOTES TO PAPER No. II.

NOTE 1 (page 46).

Different forms of "Quinnipiac" found in the records and contemporaneous documents: Querepees, Quiripeys, Quiripegs, Quillipeg, Quillipiage, Quilipiage, Quillepiage, Quellipiack, Quinepeag, Quillipeck, Quillipiock, Quillipiack, Quillipyack, Quillypiack, Quillipiacke, Quillipeck, Quillipioak, Quillipiogue, Queenapiok, Quinepieck, Quinipieck, Quinopiocke, Quinnopyocke, Quinnypiacke, Quinnipiocke, Quinnypiock, Quinypiock, Quinnyyooogh, Quinnipagee, Quinnypeauke, Quinnyyack, Quinnypiack.

NOTE 2 (page 63).

The *Connecticut Journal* of July 10, 1776, printed at New Haven, says under the heading "Philadelphia": "Yesterday the Congress unanimously resolved to declare the United Colonies Free and Independent States." In another column it announces: "To-morrow will be ready for sale the Resolution of the Congress declaring the United Colonies Free and Independent States." No other reference to the subject appears in that issue of the paper. Mr. Hoadly, State Librarian, thinks that the principal demonstration connected with the Declaration of Independence, so far as Connecticut was concerned, was possibly the reading of the declaration in the churches.

NOTE 3 (page 66).

When the City Government was organized, Mr. Sherman was at Annapolis in attendance on Congress, of which he was a member. In Boutelle's *Life of Sherman* a letter is given written to him from New Haven, February 11, 1784, by Benj. Huntington, who says: "The freemen of the city of New Haven are now in the upper house of the State House choosing their city magistrates and have made choice of a Member of Congress for the Mayor; and Deacon Howell, Deacon Bishop, Deacon Austin and Mr. Isaac Beers are chosen Aldermen. . . . Mrs. Sherman received some addresses on the subject of the election and by way of answer has fed some hungry bellies whilst others wanted powder to fire in honor of the Lord Mayor Elect. The cannons are at this moment firing in a most tremendous manner on the subject."

NOTE 4 (page 66).

No mention of any case in which the freedom of the city was conferred appears in the city records after this second instance, but in Boutelle's Life of Sherman it is stated that it was conferred on John Adams as he passed through New Haven in April, 1789, to attend the inauguration of President Washington. The letter from Acting Mayor Pierpont Edwards enclosing the diploma is also printed, and an effusively grateful reply from Mr. Adams, in which he speaks of the honor as "the most endearing compliment I ever received."

NOTE 5 (page 74).

Old Hickory's fortitude was quite as strongly tested next day by the excessive hospitality of his entertainers, as appears by the following extract from one of the local papers: "At an early hour in the morning he was aroused from his slumbers at the Tontine Hotel and conveyed to the carriage factory of the Messrs. Brewster at the foot of Wooster street, which he inspected. He was then taken to the ax factory in the same vicinity and showed through the works, where he was cheered by the workmen and evidently gratified by the hasty view which his limited time permitted. He returned to the Tontine to breakfast immediately, after which *at half-past six* he departed for Hartford."

III.

THE GREEN AS A RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL ARENA.

When the company of New Haven colonists left England, their main purpose was (in the words of Mr. Davenport) "to found a plantation whose design was religion." This being so, it seems, at first view, somewhat singular that more than a year elapsed after their landing at New Haven before they took the first step toward church organization and a year and a half before the organization was completed. The principal cause of the delay is supposed to have been a difference of opinion between one portion of the company headed by Mr. Davenport, and another portion represented by his brother minister, Samuel Eaton, as to the propriety and policy of confining political power and privilege to church members. It would appear that for a year at least this subject was under discussion between these two leaders and probably also among the people at large, and it was doubtless through the influence of Mr. Davenport himself that both the formation of the church and the organization of the state were delayed until he could feel sure of carrying through his scheme of pietistic government. This he accomplished June 4, 1639, at the meeting in Mr. Newman's barn, Samuel Eaton alone opposing and he but feebly. Twelve men were selected by that meeting, presumably on account of their preëminence in saintliness of character, and these were instructed to sift out the seven of their own number who were most worthy to form the nucleus of the church, and to admit such others into it as they should find qualified for membership. It was also provided that the body of church members thus constituted and their successors should compose the state, and as such be the repository and source of all civil and political authority.

The selection of the apostolic twelve was not effected with entire serenity. When their names were called, a person present, perhaps a disappointed candidate, accused one of them with "having charged an excessive rate for meal to one of Poquonnock in his need." The inculcated brother admitted the fact with grief, but explained that he had made reasonable restitution. At the present day in New York or Brooklyn, the fact that a church elder had made a corner in wheat would not in the least disqualify him for churchly honors. But the company in Mr. Newman's barn expected to be buyers of grain for the most part and were not disposed to tolerate conduct by which they might be caught short in the market. The plea in mitigation was promptly set aside and the speculator's name must have been stricken out, for the list, as given in the record, numbers only eleven. Subsequent developments showed that it might well have been made still shorter, for one of the chosen eleven, who became also one of the seven pillars of the church, was at a later date excommunicated for fraudulently falsifying the public records. From all which it appears that human nature even in New Haven furnishes a somewhat insecure foundation for the walls of a heavenly city.

The preliminary organization of the church by the seven pillars took place August 22, 1639, but its membership was not completed until two months later. As no meeting-house was erected till 1640, the question arises, where, during the two years before its completion, the people were accustomed to assemble for united religious worship. We have no account of any such general assemblage except the one under the oak tree the day after the landing, and it is not certain that any was held. "Neighborhood meetings" during this period are referred to in the record and if there were others more general they were perhaps only occasional, and held in some large barn or in the open air. Cotton Mather says that the church was organized in Mr. Newman's barn. Dr. Bacon,

on the other hand, gives it as local tradition that it was organized "under the same broad oak under which they had kept their first Sabbath." Such gatherings might be practicable in August, but during the winter months meetings must have been held under shelter. It illustrates the unreliability of even contemporaneous authority in historical matters, that the Dutch traveller, De Vries, in his journal under date of June 5, 1639, speaks of reaching "Redmont" (i. e., New Haven) harbor on that day and adds: "The English are building a fine town there, having already erected upwards of three hundred houses and a fine church." June 5, 1639, was the day after the first meeting in Mr. Newman's barn, and probably the Dutchman received information from some West Haven clam digger of the new church which had been founded with its seven pillars, and from it conjured up the mental vision of quite a magnificent edifice.

The First Meeting-house.

The first church edifice, which stood in the center of the Square, was in fact a small and rude structure. It was fifty feet square, built of green timber, with rough planks and without a stone foundation. It was commenced soon after November 25, 1639, and was completed in the following summer, and in less than four years had become so leaky and in such bad condition that the builders were called to account for their bad work and required to repair it. From that time on until 1668 it was in constant danger of falling on the heads of the congregation. In that year a new meeting-house was ordered. It was ready in 1670 and the old building was then "sold to the town's best advantage."

If there had been any irregularity or freedom about attendance on public worship up to the time when the first meeting-house was ready for occupancy, it is certain that none was permitted afterwards. Every adult person had his or her assigned seat in the building, so that absence

was sure to be observed, and a rigid inquiry by the magistrates into the cause inevitably followed. At the sound of the second drum the people issued from their dwellings by families, the parents in front and the children and servants following, a custom which was kept up at late as the revolutionary war. On arriving at the meeting-house door, the men were placed on one side of the house and the women on the other. The "soldiers" were placed near the door and a sentry was left outside. "The children and young people," says Dr. Bacon, "seem to have been left to find their own places;" and he adds, "it is not to be wondered at, so long as this practice continued, that the regulation of boys in the meeting-house formed a frequent subject of discussion." It would have been strange indeed and highly discreditable to the boys if they had not become restive during the long sermons in the dark little meeting-house, especially in cold weather, after the glass windows had been taken out and boards substituted, as was done in 1651, and they seem to have done their best to enliven the proceedings, in all seasons. In 1660, "on account of great disorders amongst children in ye meeting-house in time of divine worship," boys under 16 were placed "in the soldiers seat" and Edward Parker was "to have the oversight of them, while those who sat about the stairs of ye pulpit were "to be looked after by Brothers Hull and Beaman." In 1674 the townsmen were directed "to provide some suitable seats for ye boys in ye meeting-house and Wm. Payne was desired to look after ye boys before ye first seats and in ye Deacons' seats." In 1678 they had become so obstreperous in the gallery that the town ordered "William Payne and Samuel Hemingway to take a stick or wand and smite such as are of uncomely behavior in ye meeting and acquaint their parents." The office of "tithing-men" originated in these enactments, and they continued to be elected as town officials for each house of worship till 1865. They had then reached the number of 125, and after that year their appointment was left to the several ecclesiastical societies.

Mr. Davenport and his Successors.

Mr. Davenport is often spoken of as the minister of the New Haven Colony when it arrived in New Haven, but this is true only in the sense that he was its most prominent religious teacher. It was not until after the church was organized in August, 1639, that he was chosen and ordained its pastor. In 1644, William Hooke was installed "teacher" or "assistant pastor" of the church. Mr. Hooke returned to England in 1656, when Cromwell, who was a kinsman of his wife, was in the height of his power, and became his private chaplain, and in that capacity he must often have preached to John Milton, who was also attached to the Lord Protector's household. Mr. Hooke was a brother-in-law of Edward Whalley, one of the regicide judges, and it is probable that Whalley came to New Haven by his advice, in 1661, and doubtless brought messages of recommendation to Mr. Davenport from his former colleague.

After Mr. Hooke's departure for England, Nicholas Street was chosen to supply his place, and when Mr. Davenport removed to Boston in 1668, Mr. Street became his successor. He held the office of pastor until his death in 1674, being, as his memorial tablet records, "the first pastor who died in the service of the church."

The removal of Mr. Davenport from New Haven in 1668 was occasioned by the union of New Haven with Connecticut against his protest and the consequent fall of the ecclesiastical system of government which he had founded. The church parted with him with great reluctance, refusing to dismiss him, and only saying that if he was determined to go they would not oppose his wishes. Thirty years had now elapsed since the first settlers landed. Gov. Eaton and many, if not most, of those who had been their leaders, were gone, and the effect of church membership government had been to alienate the affections and lower the respect for it of all who were excluded from its privileges. The influence of these changed relations had affected the

church itself. During the first few years the ministers had been cheerfully supported by voluntary contribution, but even before Mr. Davenport left, the collections had begun to fall off both in quantity and quality. In 1650 the deacons complained to the General Court that "the wampum which is put into the church treasury is generally so bad that the ministers cannot pay it away." Evidently it was not so convenient in this respect as the doubtful bank bills which are now occasionally cast by cheerful givers into the contribution box. In 1651 the trouble had increased and the contributions diminished, and the Court ordered that "no planter shall give anything on the Lord's day but silver or bills. And, whereas, it is taken notice that divers give not into the treasury at all on the Lord's day, all such, if they give not freely of themselves, shall be rated for the minister's maintainance." But threats proved as ineffectual as principle to raise money, where no money existed, and in March, 1677, the ministers had been reduced to such necessity that the town voted to lay a tax for their support on all the inhabitants. Thus the church shifted the burden of maintaining religious worship from itself upon the people at large and these continued to carry it for one hundred and forty years, until the present constitution of Connecticut was adopted. The effect of this change was to secularize the church. Taxation and representation cannot long be dissociated. If the general public are compelled to support religious institutions the general public must be admitted to share in ecclesiastical rights and privileges, and thus was introduced into New Haven the practice which was known throughout New England as the Half-way Covenant.

The Half-way Covenant.

The Half-way Covenant had prevailed in Massachusetts and Connecticut long before it obtained a foothold in New Haven. It originated in Boston, where, as here, in the beginning church membership was the qualification for

political rights. The consequence had been, that as early as 1670, in order to satisfy the popular demand for a wider franchise, it had been determined, against great opposition, in which Mr. Davenport, after his departure from New Haven, took part, to open the church doors for a more general membership. To accomplish this the rule had been adopted to recognize all baptized persons of good moral character as nominally church members, but without admitting them to full communion. Although the political necessity for the Half-way Covenant did not exist in all parts of New England and especially in those parts under the Connecticut charter, yet it had become generally prevalent everywhere before it reached New Haven and its associated churches. Here, where the influence of Mr. Davenport and the early fathers was still potent, the opposition to it was vigorous, and a controversy was soon under way, characterized on both sides by the vivacity which is usual when matters of religious difference are under discussion. In fact in 1678 the strife had waxed so hot that by common consent a council of neighboring churches was called in for advice how to assuage it. The council met and after due consideration recommended a season of prayer and fasting as the most likely way to promote a general cheerfulness and good humor. The advice was adopted. The combatants assembled in the meeting-house; each party contritely confessed the other's envy, malice and all uncharitableness and prayed that it might have more grace and brotherly love, and then both sides, refreshed and invigorated, returned to the fray with more unction than ever.

The logic of the situation, however, after public taxation had been resorted to for the support of the church, rendered the acceptance of the Half-way Covenant inevitable here as elsewhere, and it was not long before the New Haven church fell into line with all the rest. The practice, which continued until about the beginning of the present century, was not only judicious from a political point of view, but its

effect was to preserve the hold of the church upon the interest and morals of the people. It thus doubtless greatly promoted that general and regular attendance on religious worship which characterized the New England population of one hundred years ago, and which has progressively diminished since it was abrogated. It was moreover in accordance with the theory and usages of most Christian communions not having a Puritan origin, and it would not be surprising if at some future day a demand should arise for its restoration. The adoption of the Half-way Covenant was but one indication of a great reaction which had now set in from the extreme austerity and religious tension of the previous generation, and of a decline in faith and morals which had already commenced. Such a declension usually occurs in the second or third generation of a new country, as the fathers, emigrants from civilization, disappear, and the children, wilderness-born and bred, assume the stage of action; and in this case several special causes had contributed their influence. First was King Philip's war, lasting from 1675 to 1678, a period the most anxious and distressing that New England ever experienced. Then followed the Government of Andross with the temporary loss of the Connecticut charter and the subsequent efforts of the British Crown to abrogate that instrument, which continued even after the reign of William and Mary. Added to these were the evils of a depreciated and fluctuating currency, which in the extreme poverty of the people was sorely felt. "All these causes," says Dr. Bacon, "had a disastrous effect not only on business and general prosperity, but on morals and against the influence of religion."

Mr. Pierpont's Ministry.

Another and a local cause for religious and moral declension, so far as respected New Haven, existed in the fact that for nearly ten years after the death of Mr. Street, that

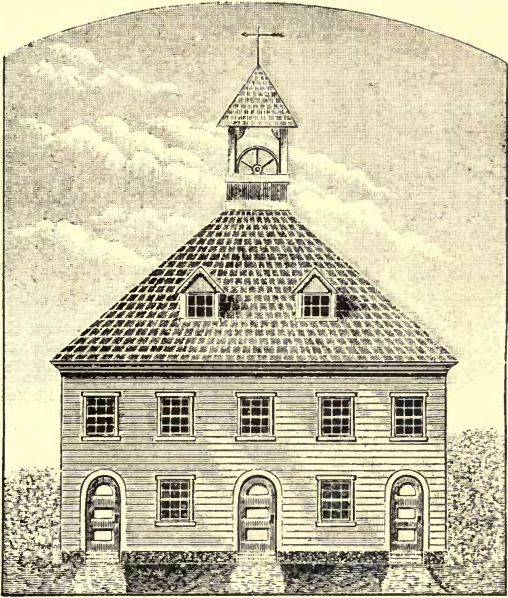
is to say from 1674 to 1684, the town had no regular settled minister. Occasional temporary supplies of the pulpit were obtained but the service was not satisfactory, though it was certainly as good as the pay, which as we have seen was scanty and always in arrears. In 1683 the town could no longer endure this religious destitution and determined to secure a spiritual guide even if it had to take him out of jail. Accordingly, messengers were sent to extend a call to Rev. Mr. Moody of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, who was then undergoing imprisonment by the Royal Governor of that Province for refusing to admit him and some fellow scapegraces to the sacrament. Mr. Moody was found in Boston, having just been released from prison and banished from New Hampshire with strict injunctions never to return. Regarding such an order as affording the best possible reason why he should go back immediately, he declined the call to New Haven, and the messengers, being thus baffled, looked about for a substitute. This they soon found in the person of Mr. James Pierpont, who, though he had never been in jail, had just graduated from Harvard College, an institution of learning, which stood better at that time than at present, its reputation for football kicking and other branches of the higher education not having then been seriously impaired. Accordingly, the messengers, unwilling to go home without having accomplished anything, invited Mr. Pierpont to come to New Haven and preach as a candidate. He accepted the proposal, and in August, 1684, was reported at the town meeting as having arrived and being lodged at the house of the Widow Davenport "to his content." He was, in fact, so much contented then and afterwards that he subsequently married the widow's daughter Abigail, who was a granddaughter of Rev. John Davenport, his predecessor in the ministry.*

Mr. Pierpont preached acceptably as a candidate for nearly a year and was ordained July 2, 1685. The church built a house for him on a lot which was given by the town,

* See Note 1 at the end of this Paper.

on the north side of the market place, and a part of this lot is still occupied by one of his descendants. As a Boston man, Mr. Pierpont was favorable to the Half-way Covenant, and it prevailed in the first church from the time of his ordination until about the beginning of this century. The tax rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ pence in the pound, which was levied for the minister's support, was found to be impossible of collection in money, and its avails were also fluctuating in amount, so that the town, as a matter of mutual convenience, proposed to Mr. Pierpont in 1697 to pay him thereafter a regular salary of £120 a year "in grane and flesh," at certain fixed prices, and also his firewood. Mr. Pierpont accepted the offer, "having heard," as he said, "that it was cheerfully tendered," but with a shrewd recollection of the bad wampum contributions of former days, he stipulated that "the offerings should be brought to the house of God without lameness or reflections on the ministry in the respective years." As the records show no friction between pastor and people during his ministry, it is to be presumed that there was no lameness either in the salary or the preaching.

Mr. Pierpont continued to be a faithful and esteemed pastor until his death in 1714, but the period was one of religious and moral decadence, which the most effective ministry could not wholly check. In 1692, at the request of the ministers of the colony, a town meeting directed the authorities and heads of families to take measures to support the prevalent "horse racing and tavern tipping" after religious services on lecture days. It must be remembered, however, that lecture days were a species of holiday on which the suburban population generally came to town for purposes both of devotion and festivity, and doubtless church attendance was largely promoted by the combination. Certain it is, that notwithstanding the lamentations so frequently encountered in the records, as to the degree in which Satan raged and sin abounded, the meeting-house was crowded, so that in 1697 it was necessary to enlarge the gallery, and a year later to put an addition on the main



THE SECOND MEETING HOUSE AS IT APPEARED AFTER 1700.

Built 1670—Removed 1757.

body of the house.* In the allotment of seats the practice seems to have grown up of giving the best seats to the highest taxpayers, and the official dignitaries were in danger of being crowded to the wall by a shoddy aristocracy. To prevent so unseemly a scandal without unduly curtailing the tax receipts, the town voted, in 1701, that the seating committee should "have a principle Respect to Offices, Civill Ecclesiastick and Military, and Rates, it being understood ye Rates to be valued and no persons to advance s Rates for ye Dignity of ye Seats in ye Meeting House."†

The Saybrook Platform.

In full accordance with the history of the church in all ages, as spiritual religion declined formalism became more pronounced, and ecclesiasticism developed. The ministers found the Puritan doctrine of church isolation and independence unfavorable to the dignity and influence of their order and began to hanker for the flesh pots of organization and clerical power. In pursuance of their request, in 1708 the General Assembly of Connecticut ordered a synod of churches convened at Saybrook, which met and adopted a code of church association and discipline. By this code, known as the Saybrook platform, a system was introduced so much like the Presbyterian order that the churches under it were afterwards frequently styled Presbyterian, even by their own clergy. The framers of the platform did not venture to force it upon the churches, but through their influence the General Assembly approved of it and recommended to the churches to unite under its provisions. It also enacted that those churches and those only which accepted the platform should be recognized in law as established churches, and as such be entitled to a share of the taxes laid for the support of the ministry. Those not adopting it could only acquire legal recognition by special license of the General Assembly in each case; while mem-

* See Note 2.

† See Note 3.

bers of churches not so licensed, besides being obliged to support their own ministers, were liable to taxation for the support of the established churches in their several towns. Thus was created not only an established church, but one intolerant and repressive of all rivals; and at the same time the ministers of the establishment were erected into a clerical order in the state; an order which for more than one hundred years wielded a power and influence almost supreme in the Commonwealth, and exercised it too often with the display of those faults which are so generally associated with ecclesiastical rule. It should be remembered, however, that the Saybrook Platform was established as a rule of order within the Congregational church as the only denomination actually existing in the colony at that time; and not for the purpose of suppressing other sects which had made or might thereafter make their appearance. Permission was, in fact, given by the law to any church "to soberly dissent from the united churches hereby established." This provision was known as "the Toleration Act," and in 1727 the General Assembly went a step further and specially enacted that any society of the church of England that might be framed in any town should be recognized as an established society. In 1729 a similar law was passed to cover the case of the Quakers and Baptists. Neither of these denominations, however, had any organized existence till many years later, and in the meantime the "Prime Ancient Church," as it was legally designated, remained in undisputed occupancy of its supreme power and prerogative. Mr. Pierpont was one of the leaders in forming the Saybrook Platform. He was also the most active agent in effecting the foundation of Yale College. He died November 14, 1714, aged 55 years, much beloved, honored and lamented.

Three years before Mr. Pierpont's death East Haven had been established as a distinct parish and somewhat later several other outlying parishes had been set off as separate ecclesiastical societies. Thenceforward that in New Haven

was known as "the First Ecclesiastical Society." The records of the First Society, as such, began to be kept distinct from the town records July 1, 1715. At this period also occurred the first serious disagreement among its own people over the election of a new pastor. Mr. Joseph Noyes was chosen, after an animated controversy, but a year of probation reconciled his opponents, and he was ordained without objection. During the first twenty years of his ministry the declension of spiritual religion and the decadence of public morals, not only in New Haven, but elsewhere, steadily continued. Such at least is the tenor of contemporary declarations. Probably much of this disparaging comment is due to the narrow and rigid standards of the day, for it is not easy to believe that any great or general depravity could then have existed in the rural villages of New England, and no particulars are on record to justify the current imputations.

The Great Awakening.

However, this may be, there is no doubt that lifelessness in religion, and monotony in intellectual and social life, prevailed in New Haven throughout the early part of the eighteenth century, which were followed in 1735 by a great and sudden reaction. In that year remarkable revivals of religion, known as "the Great Awakening, attended with extraordinary popular interest and excitement, broke out almost simultaneously throughout New England. New Haven was one of the first places to feel the sweep of the tidal wave, and even after its first force was spent, it continued to return with successive impulses. It was impossible that such an upheaval of emotions, the profoundest and most intense that can excite the human breast, could agitate the community without bringing division and controversy. Sensitive and impassioned souls, urging on the movement as the highest call of duty, were arrayed against cold, conservative natures who considered it

uncalled for, or extravagant, and thus households were soon divided among themselves, husband against wife, father against daughter, and possibly, in some extreme cases, son-in-law against mother-in-law.

In 1740 first appeared in New Haven the celebrated revivalist, George Whitefield, an orator of remarkable fervor and power, who went through the country preaching to enormous crowds of people, and producing an effect like that which followed John the Baptist in Judea. In contrast with the current Calvinistic view of election by the grace of God, which led the sinner to passively await the divine movement in his soul, he proclaimed the gospel of salvation through the efforts of the sinner himself. He terrified his hearers by depicting the flames of hell as ready to break forth beneath their feet, and pressed home on their alarmed and startled consciences the necessity for immediate repentance and of arousing to a new and spiritual life. He inveighed against the prevalent sloth and torpor in religion, and especially denounced, sometimes by name, those ministers who were at ease in Zion as faithless shepherds, blind guides and unconverted men. On his first visit to New Haven he preached several times in Mr. Noyes' pulpit, and seems not to have given any special ground of offense to the more conservative portion of the church. After his departure, however, exhorters and ranters more extravagant than he sprang up on all sides. Rev. John Davenport was one of these, a great grandson of the New Haven founder, whose mind, as it afterwards appeared, was somewhat unbalanced, and who assailed with indecent violence all those of the clergy who did not commit themselves unqualifiedly to what was now called the "new light movement."

The Old and New-light Controversy.

Rev. Mr. Noyes was now 50 years old. He was of a calm and quiet temperament, and did not readily lend himself to new doctrines, or to methods of passionate

excitement, and he quickly became the special target for the fire of Mr. Davenport and his sympathizers. He was also rather a dull preacher at best, and it was not long before a strong opposition was organized against him in his own church. Naturally the older and more conservative portion, who also constituted the majority, rallied for his defense, and thus the church was divided into two hostile factions, known as the "New light" and "Old light" parties. In 1742 the New-lights associated themselves into a distinct church, requested a separation of the society and a division of the property, and began to carry on separate services in a private house. The Old-light party protested against the secession and refused to divide the society. As the law then stood, although new churches might be formed, in any parish, new ecclesiastical societies could not, without a license from the Legislature. In the meantime the Separatists were obliged to support their own worship and, as legal members of the First Ecclesiastical Society, were also taxed for the support of Mr. Noyes. As such members, however, they had the right of voting at all meetings of the First Society, and they were not behindhand in availing themselves of the privilege, not failing to attend every business meeting and doing their best to enliven the proceedings. The Old-light majority had a paramount influence with the Legislature, and not only prevented a society license being granted to the New-light church, but secured the passage of a law forbidding any minister to preach within the limits of any parish without the consent of the established pastor and a majority of the parish.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, the New-light party were not discouraged. They first applied for permission to build a meeting-house on the Green. Being refused, they proceeded to erect one on the corner of Elm and Church streets, which they completed in 1748, and painted an azure blue; a color to explain which has greatly puzzled the historians. Mr. Barber says it was caused by mixing too much lampblack with the white, but in the first place,

that would not produce a blue, and in the second place such a mistake would have been rectified before the whole building was painted. Others have suggested that the color symbolized the orthodoxy of the worshippers; but the fact is that just at that period gaily-colored meeting-houses were a fashionable fad. Those at Pomfret and Windham were painted a brilliant yellow. The Killingly meeting-house was yellow with a red roof; and in 1762 Brooklyn painted her's orange, with doors and trimmings of chocolate and white. Blue was in fact a very common color for buildings in New Haven at that time. In Wadsworth's map of 1748 the colors of the painted houses are indicated by the letters "b" and "r" and from this it appears that eight, including the college building, "Connecticut Hall," were painted blue, and thirty-seven red. White was an unusual color on account of its greater expense, the virtues of barytes as an adulterant not being then understood.

Affairs were in this situation when Whitefield made a second visit to New Haven in 1745. Regarding him as a firebrand, the Old-light party refused him admission to the meeting-house, and as the Blue Meeting-house was not yet finished, he preached to a great multitude assembled on the Green in front of the Pierpont trees, which stood at the present intersection of Elm and Temple streets. In 1751, Rev. Mr. Bird was settled as pastor in the Blue Meeting-house, apparently in defiance of the law, and preached without interference. Thus matters continued till 1757, sixteen years after the contest began. During all this time the New-light party attended the meetings of the First Society with great regularity, pressing its demand for a division with equal pugnacity and piety, and resisted by their Old-light adversaries with quite as much grit as grace.

It was in the midst of this warfare that the first Brick Meeting-house was erected on the Green. An attempt was first made to raise the necessary funds by society taxation;

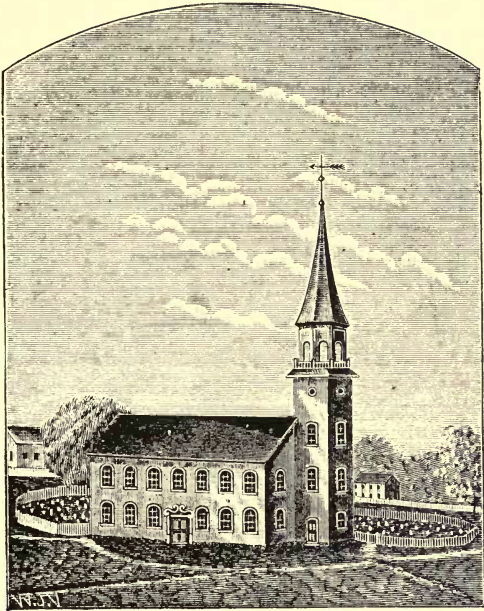
but the law required a two-thirds vote for this, and the New-lights were on hand and defeated it. It was therefore built by the Old-lights majority partly by voluntary contributions and partly with funds of the church, a body to which the New-lights did not pretend to belong. It was commenced in 1753, and finished in 1757. The old meeting-house remained standing in front of it for over two years and was taken down in 1760.

In the meantime the New-light party had been steadily growing in numbers and political influence. It gathered to its support not only those who favored liberality and equal rights, but also the great body of the common people, who looked upon the Old-lights as an aristocratic party, both in religion and politics. By 1757 both factions had become tired, and in January of that year it was voted that application be made to the General Assembly for a division of the society and the distribution of its property. As preparatory for such division it was ordered that all the inhabitants of the parish should enroll themselves, and that each one should declare which party he favored and to which of the two societies he wished to belong. By June the enrollment was completed, and lo! the New-light party had a large majority. On thus discovering "where they were at" a marvelous change of heart was suddenly experienced. The New-lights became entirely averse to a division; took possession of the First Society meetings and carried through a vote to withdraw the application to the Legislature. They also called Mr. Bird to be the minister of the First Society, "the New-light meeting-house to be the place of worship for the present." "It was now," says Dr. Bacon, "the turn of the Old-lights to exercise the grace of patience." They entered their protest on the record—refused to be bound by the votes that had been taken, and continued to occupy the old meeting-house with Mr. Noyes as minister. In the following October another society meeting was held and the New-light majority passed a vote requesting Mr. Noyes to cease his ministerial labors, with

notice that his salary would no longer be paid. Mr. Noyes did not cease his labors, but brought suit for his salary and recovered judgment for the full amount.

In February, 1758, the Old-light church settled Rev. Chauncey Whittelsey as assistant pastor with Mr. Noyes, and this with other circumstances brought the Old-light party many new adherents, so that the tide began to turn in their favor. Before 1759 they were settled in the new Brick Meeting-house and had again a clear majority in the society. In view of the vicissitudes both parties had experienced, they were now both disposed to accommodation, and in January, 1759, the society again voted to apply to the Legislature for a separation. As each party claimed to be the First Society, the Legislature was requested to determine this point, and also to apportion the property in an equitable manner. In October the division was effected. The Old-lights were declared to be the First Society, and the New-lights were incorporated as the White Haven Society. The Brick Meeting-house was set to the First Society, and the old meeting-house and the bell and other appurtenances to the two jointly. Thus ended the war which for eighteen years had kept New Haven in a turmoil and disrupted social foundations and family ties. So bitter and lasting were the feelings it engendered that when in 1838, seventy years later, Dr. Bacon related its story in his *Historical Discourses*, he declared that he did so with great anxiety, "lest walking among the ashes of the fires that had burned so fiercely, he might tread on unextinguished embers." Rev. Mr. Noyes still held the fort when peace was declared but lived only three years longer. He died quietly in 1701, aged 73, and his bones lie under the pulpit which in life he so tenaciously stuck to.

The name of the new society, "White Haven," has been the theme of some conjecture with respect to its origin, but seems quite explainable in the light of the foregoing history. The church was the offspring of Whitefield's preaching, and the combination of that name with New Haven was the most natural way to designate it.



THE THIRD MEETING HOUSE OR "BRICK MEETING HOUSE."

Built 1757—Removed 1813.

The Fair Haven Society.

Hardly had the smoke of the long battle cleared away when the New-light church, which had seceded partly on the ground of opposition to the Half-way Covenant, conquered its prejudices in that respect, and adopted the practice by a large majority. Seven years later, Rev. Mr. Bird having resigned, and Rev. Jonathan Edwards being called as his successor, Mr. Edwards declined the call unless the Half-way Covenant was abrogated. Whereupon, in the most obliging manner the church promptly voted to abandon it. A considerable number of members, however, found themselves unequal to this doctrinal agility, and these seceded, to form a third society under the name of the Fair Haven Society. This name also, has given rise to much speculation, and its derivation is not entirely clear. Of course it had no connection with the thriving suburb of our city which is famous for its fattened oysters. In 1767 that precinct consisted of only half a dozen fishermen's huts, two miles from town, and was known as "The Dragon," a locality most unsuitable to give the name to a church. Probably the full title of the church would have been "The Fair Society of New Haven," the word "fair" implying either its attractiveness in contrast with its misguided neighbors; or perhaps, the medium and fair position it occupied spiritually between the two, combining as it did the New-light faith with the Old-light, Half-way Covenant practice, thus being "fair" to both saints and sinners.

The new church met in the State House for a time but soon obtained permission to build on the Green, and in 1770 the Fair Haven Meeting-house was completed. It stood on the site of the present North Church, but its longest line was north and south, with the steeple on the south end. It was made of wood, and as the new Brick Church was red, and its old antagonist blue, this one was carefully painted white in order to symbolize its diversity

from both the others. Thus the New Haven churches first became identified with the red, white and blue colors, to which in their symbolic combination they have since so often proved their fidelity.

The three churches thus domiciliated within a stone's throw of each other were for several years neighborly only in situation. The acrimony left by their previous quarrels prevented all interchange of amenities, and it was not until 1779 that an angel of peace appeared to bring them to a common agreement. The tranquilizer on this occasion was the invading British army, which visited New Haven July 5, 1779, and its soothing influence on the churches was apparent on the following Sunday. On that day, for the first time, they had a united service, which happy event, with its abrupt conclusion, is thus chronicled in Dr. Stiles' diary:

"July 11—Lord's day—So many had left town that two congregations agreed to meet together in forenoon at Mr. Edwards' meeting; in p. m. with Mr. Whittelsey; I was to preach a. m. but was interrupted in middle of sermon with news of burning of Norwalk on enemy's landing. Congregation broke up and spent the day in moving furniture and effects."

A month later a rumor became current that the enemy was about to return and burn the town, and a season of fasting and prayer was promptly held by mutual consent, but these prudent devotions proved to have been superfluous, as there was no real cause for alarm. In course of time, the Fair Haven and White Haven churches became reconciled, and in 1796, both being without pastors and in a declining state, they again associated under the name of "The United Societies of Fair Haven and White Haven," subsequently abbreviated to "The United Society." The new society by the reunion came into possession of two meeting-houses and occupied them in alternate months until 1815, when the Fair Haven Meeting-house was removed and the present North Church was built on its site. The Blue Meeting-house disappeared soon afterwards.

After 1800.

Mr. Whittelsey continued to preach in the Brick Meeting-house until his death in 1787. He was followed by Rev. James Dana, who was the last of the preachers identified with the Old-light, Half-way Covenant period. In 1805 the new divinity was recognized by the ordination of Rev. Moses Stuart, a young man of fervor and eloquence, who remained, however, only five years and then resigned to become an eminent professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Mr. Nathaniel Taylor succeeded Mr. Stuart in 1810, but like him resigned in 1820 to become an equally if not more distinguished professor in the Theological Seminary of Yale. It was during his pastorate that the present Center Church edifice was erected. In March, 1825, Rev. Leonard Bacon, then just 23 years of age, was installed in the pulpit which he so nobly filled until his resignation as active pastor in 1866.

The first half of this century was marked by great religious activity, in which frequent and powerful revivals were a conspicuous feature. Another result was an extreme sensitiveness on questions of Christian morals, with much agitation of such important matters as the sinfulness of dancing, card-playing and novel-reading. Sectarian and doctrinal zeal also supplied material for abundant and profitless controversy, and so full was the air of these disputes that even the church bells on Sundays were said to fling out their sectarian catch-words at each other: the Baptist bell calling "Come and be dipped"; and Trinity proclaiming "Bishops, priests and deacons." The North Church reiterated "Free grace—free grace," while Center solemnly responded, "To-tal de-pravity." These denominational bickerings may be said to have continued down to the time of the civil war, but in the excitement and agitation of that momentous period they disappeared, and, happily, have never since come to the surface. Thus

in the religious annals of the Green, as in other lines of its history, the year 1862 marked a new era, and forms an appropriate resting-place.

The three churches on the Green, which were all erected during the war of 1812, were built by syndicates or associations which reimbursed themselves by the sale or the rental of the pews. Possibly if the British naval commander in the Sound, who allowed the materials for their construction to pass out of respect for a community that was so "devilish pious," had known all the facts, he might have taken a different view of the situation.* Pews in those days were sold and rented as real estate by the owners, the occupancy of them carrying no liability to contribute to the expenses of the church or society. Religious worship until 1818 was supported by public taxation; the taxpayer had the right to designate the Society to which his money should be applied, and if he did not exercise this privilege, it was applied to the uses of the Congregational Church as the established order. Under this system pew-ownership was practicable, but the Constitution of 1818 abolished it, and it was soon found, as it had been in 1677, that voluntary contribution was an insufficient reliance as a means of church revenue. It thus became necessary for the ecclesiastical societies to acquire the ownership of the pews, and by a long process of gradual purchase, and an occasional donation, this was finally accomplished. The last acquisition in the Center Church was not effected till 1893.

The North Church was completed in 1815, Rev. Samuel Merwin then being its pastor. Mr. Merwin's long and faithful ministry lasted from 1805 to 1831. He was followed by Rev. Leverett Sawyer, who remained two years. In 1838 Rev. Samuel Dutton was called to the pulpit and occupied it till his death, in January, 1866. It is nearly thirty years since Dr. Dutton passed away, but the memory of his genial spirit, his generous nature and his devoted piety is still warmly cherished in the hearts of all who knew

* See Note 4.

him. The brotherly affection which subsisted between him and Dr. Bacon was reflected in the cordial fraternity of their respective churches—a fraternity which still continues and which strengthens with every passing year.

Other Denominations on the Green.

The direct connection of Trinity parish with the Green commences with the permission it obtained from the town in 1812 to build a house of worship upon it. The building was completed in 1815. Being the only stone church in town, and esteemed the finest specimen of Gothic architecture in the United States, if not in the world, it was naturally regarded with some complacency by its congregation, especially in comparison with its neighbors, the "Middle-brick" and "North-brick" meeting-houses. When it was consecrated, in 1815, Rev. Harry Crosswell was its rector, and he so continued, aided by various assistants, until his death, in 1858. Dr. Crosswell was a man of grand and dignified presence and of commanding qualities. He wielded great influence in New Haven, being universally beloved and honored, and under his charge his parish enjoyed a remarkable growth and prosperity. He was succeeded in 1859 by Rev. Edwin Harwood, whose ministry terminated at the beginning of the present year. In the fine historical discourse which Dr. Harwood delivered in that connection he congratulated his people on the cordial relations which subsist between Trinity and its sister churches of all denominations in New Haven. Doubtless there were a few in his audience who failed to reflect that this was due in great measure to his own broad, wise and catholic spirit during the thirty-five years of his ministry. Like Dr. Bacon he retires from active service while still in the vigor of life. Like him, also, may he long be spared in strength and usefulness to enjoy among us an honored and serene old age.

After two denominations had been permitted to build upon the Green, it was natural that others should ask for a similar privilege, and in 1820 the Methodist Society was granted liberty by a town vote to build a meeting-house in the northwest corner. The little band of worshippers were poor in this world's goods but rich in faith and fervent in spirit, and made it a matter of principle to illustrate literally the petition of the Lord's prayer as they generally pronounced it, "Hollo-wed be Thy name." The previous pastor had been a strict disciplinarian and had excommunicated the greater part of his flock; most righteously, if we may judge from one example, that of a sister, who was given over to Satan for wearing a large broad-brimmed hat in public assemblies. The collapse of the half-finished building in the September gale of 1821 has been referred to in a previous paper. With commendable perseverance and the assistance of their fellow citizens the society erected another which stood till 1848. By this time the congregation required a larger building and an arrangement was effected for their removal from the Green to their present location on the corner of Elm and College streets.

In 1821 the Baptist Society, which had been worshipping for a while in the State House, obtained leave from the town to build a meeting-house on the southwest corner of the Green, but subsequently, in view of the remonstrance which the permission evoked, decided not to avail themselves of it and purchased a lot on Chapel street below the bridge, where they built a church which they occupied for many years. Eleven years later an infant Universalist Society applied to the Proprietors' Committee for the site which the Baptists had resigned, but the application was unsuccessful. The refusal of the Committee was couched in elaborate diplomatic phraseology and dwelt on the inexpediency of allowing further encroachments on the Green; but it is easy to read between the lines the complacency of the Committee in thus baffling an attempt of the adversary to get a foothold under the very eaves of the orthodox churches.

Of open-air religious meetings held on the Green prior to 1862 not much information has been preserved. The great assemblage addressed by Whitefield in 1745 has been already mentioned. About 1790 Jesse Lee, the founder of Methodism in New England, held large meetings on the Green in gathering that church in New Haven. The present Universalists held services at intervals on the north steps of the last State House. And an occasional itinerant like the eccentric Lorenzo Dow from time to time appeared and drew together what he called "a religious meeting," of which the "collection" was the most conspicuous feature. In 1842 another itinerant, William Miller, who had already created a great excitement throughout New England by predicting the destruction of the world in 1843, preached several discourses to crowded congregations in the Methodist Church. His argument was drawn from the recorded antics of certain peculiar beasts mentioned by the Prophet Daniel, and his figures fixed the time of the final conflagration at a certain date in December, 1843. On the night of the appointed day, in the midst of a driving snow storm, the cry of "fire" aroused the community. A wonderful lurid glare filled the heavens, but no cause for it could be discovered. Numerous believers donned their ascension robes, but the glow disappeared, and the next morning information was received that the only portion of the world that had been destroyed was a paper mill in Westville.

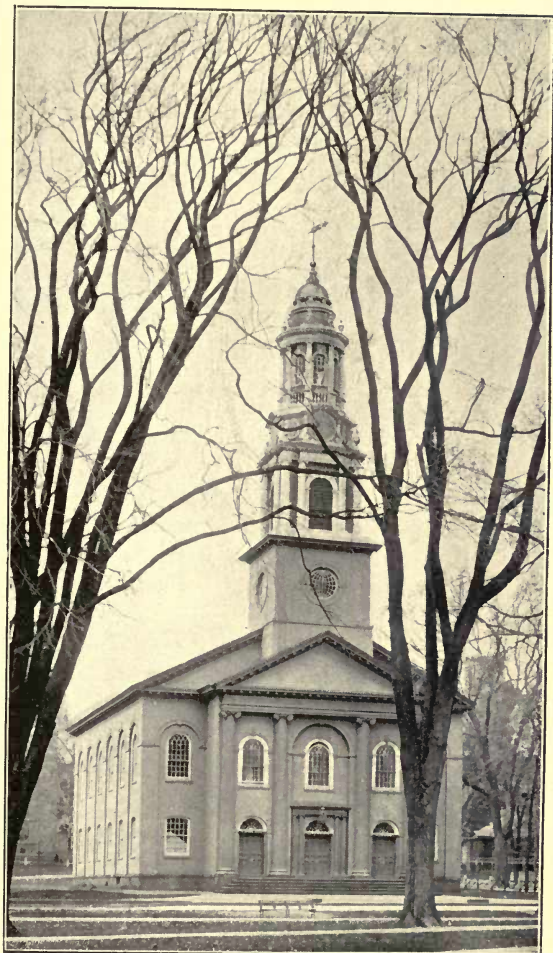
Notable Religious Meetings on the Green.

Among the notable religious meetings which have been held on the Green one may be specially referred to as of historic interest. It took place in 1822 in the North Church, on the departure of the second company of missionaries from this country to the Sandwich Islands. They sailed the next day from this port in a New Haven vessel. The missionary movement to those islands originated in New Haven and was for many years largely supported by the

churches on the Green. To these churches therefore it is principally due that that young republic to-day is controlled by American institutions and American influence, instead of being an appendage of Great Britain or France. In recognition of this fact, when the interior of the Center Church was renovated in 1843, its pulpit was sent to the Sandwich Islands at the request of the people there and set up in the First Church of Honolulu as a memorial of New Haven, upon whose Green not only that church but the Hawaiian nation itself may be fairly said to have been founded.

Another notable service, also in the North Church, the Kansas Rifle meeting held in 1856, has been referred to in a previous paper. Political preaching has always been regarded by the Congregational clergy as one of their vested rights, and their pulpits on the Green have always been not merely "drums ecclesiastic" but "drums civic" for all calls to public duty. It was so when in 1660 Mr. Davenport preached on sheltering the Regicide judges, and it was so when in 1861 the Stars and Stripes were flung from the topmast spire of Center Church, there to float till the bell beneath should proclaim the surrender of the last rebel army. For nearly two centuries, in default of daily papers, important news and public notices were habitually announced from the pulpit. It was thus that calls for troops and supplies were made during the Revolution. The Declaration of Independence was first publicly read in New Haven in the meeting-houses, and in 1815 the news of the treaty of peace was made known from the pulpit of the Old Blue Meeting-house, on Sunday, February 13, having just been communicated by the post rider as he passed by the door.

The numerous printed sermons which have come down to us from colonial days suggest that a good opinion of their merit was entertained at least by their authors, but to the modern reader they are of little interest, being prolix, dogmatic and tedious in the extreme. Among these pub-



NORTH CHURCH.
Built 1815.

lished discourses is one preached September 2, 1772, by Rev. Sampson Occum, a converted Indian, at the hanging of a fellow aboriginal for murder. The execution, which was the first in New Haven since 1749, was preceded by a religious service in the Brick Meeting-house. An immense audience attended, the court and magistrates being present. The prisoner, accompanied by the sheriff, occupied the place of honor, and the minister and the choir vied with each other in their efforts to do justice to an occasion so brilliant and interesting.

Next to hangings, ordinations were the most festive events which enlivened the Green down to the beginning of the present century. Distinguished divines and prominent dignitaries from all parts of the State were invited, and crowds came in from the surrounding towns. The candidate was first publicly examined as to his orthodoxy, which afforded a great opportunity for ecclesiastical fencing and doctrinal athletics. Then came a procession generally headed by music to the meeting-house, which was crowded literally to the ceiling, the beams and rafters overhead being often occupied. After the services a sumptuous banquet followed at the tavern, the bill for which closely resembled Falstaff's tavern score in its proportions of bread and sack. The account for entertaining the Council at the ordination of Dr. Bacon in 1825 is still preserved and its charges are, for dinners \$30.50, for porter, wine and cigars \$42.25, for liquors and horsekeeping \$12.75. In many New England towns there was a ball in the evening, to solace the young people from a distance who happened to arrive too late for the ordination, but I find no evidence that ordination balls were ever customary in New Haven.

Improvements introduced by Trinity.

The early New England clergy wore gowns and bands in the pulpit, and the practice seems to have continued in New Haven until about the time of the Revolution, after

which it gradually died out. It was at this period that Episcopacy began to become prominent and possibly these badges became objectionable as savoring of prelacy. However this may have been with regard to clerical vestments, it is certain that in other directions the influence of the Episcopal Church on Puritan ideas and usages in New Haven has been of quite an opposite character. From the time when the new denomination gained an established position, it has exerted a marked effect on the Congregational order in the gradual amelioration of its doctrinal asperities, and in the improvement and adornment of its ecclesiastical appliances and forms of worship. The change in these respects dates back to the organization of Trinity Parish about 1750, and it will be interesting to notice some of those steps in its progress in which Trinity has been the pioneer. In 1752 Trinity erected its first house of worship, sarcastically called by Dr. Stiles "a reading house," a small and modest edifice; but it was adorned with a steeple and spire and thus symbolized, as an admiring vestryman declared, "good Mother Church, with one foot resting on the apostolic rock, and the other pointing to the skies."* The graceful and suggestive emblem commended itself at once to the First Church, which built the Brick Meeting-house in the following year and adopted the same appropriate appendage. In 1764 the White Haven Society attached a similar addition to the barn-like Blue Meeting-house, and the Fair Haven Society, which built in 1770, followed the now established fashion. The meeting-houses having thus taken on a more churchly form, began to be invested with a more sacred character; so that in 1814 and 1815, when the two Congregational houses of worship now on the Green were completed, they were solemnly "dedicated to the worship of God." No such ceremony had ever been applied to their predecessors, which had been intended for secular as well as religious uses. Having thus been qualified as "churches," that term is now properly applied to

* See Note 5.

them; nevertheless in the Congregational mind the Puritan instinct is still potent and its conceptions of the church as an edifice are strongly imbued with the meeting-house flavor.

Another improvement in ecclesiastical appliances, in which Trinity led its contemporaries, was in the use of the organ, which it introduced in 1784. The innovation was regarded by its neighbors as a mode of worshipping God by machinery and a clear proof of papistical tendencies, and it was not till 1818, or thirty-four years later, that the United Society could be brought to allow David Read and others to place an organ in the North Church on trial at their own expense. The Center Church held out with its old-fashioned choir till 1855, when it fell into line with the others. Trinity was the first also to introduce an artificial warmth into public worship by means of stoves, which it adopted in 1806. The congregations in the other churches regarded this as another step toward popery, and continued to combine their spiritual glow with blue noses and chattering teeth for twenty winters longer. Possibly they believed that the colder the church the less likely the tempter of souls would be to leave his warm quarters and enter them. Nevertheless when the Center and North Churches were built in 1814 and 1815, they were both provided with chimneys, and brick or "Russian" stoves, as they were called, appear to have been used in the Center Church immediately thereafter. The United Society, however, held out much more heroically against the Evil One in its test of endurance. Propositions to connect stoves with its empty chimney were repeatedly voted down, but by 1827, during an extremely cold snap, it became so evident that the enemy could not be successfully frozen out, that they wisely resolved to fight the Devil with fire and thus turned the tables on the adversary.*

The warming of the meeting-houses brought about the disuse of Sabbath-day houses, which had been for nearly

* See Note 6.

two hundred years the retreat of half-frozen worshippers from out of town, during the noon interval between the Sunday services. At least one of these refuges stood upon the Green, a little east of the Fair Haven Church, perhaps as late as 1800.

To Trinity also the worshipping congregations of New Haven are indebted for first placing a clock directly in front of the preacher to remind him that time is a matter of interest as well as eternity. The handsome clock which adorns the gallery front in Trinity Church, with a carved figure in gilt representing David playing on a harp, was the first time-piece set up in any New Haven church interior, and was given to the church by the architect, Mr. Ithiel Towne. The story is that Mr. Towne, who had previously been identified with the First Society, had intended to give this clock to the Center Church, but owing to some disagreement with the Society changed his mind and not only gave the clock to Trinity but always attended service there afterwards. It is said that this incident deeply impressed the First Church with a conviction that brethren ought to dwell together in peace and harmony, and that they sang thereafter with pathetic unction the hymn containing the lines:

Let all our hearts in tune be found
Like David's harp of solemn sound.

The changes which have gradually crept into Puritan usages and forms of worship through the influence of the Episcopal Church are so familiar that they hardly need be enumerated. One of the first in order was the discontinuance of standing in prayer, a custom universal for men, women and children less than a hundred years ago. Under Mr. Davenport's ministry it was a local custom for the congregation to rise and remain standing during the reading of the text. It does not appear when this practice ceased, but Mr. Barber says that as late as 1815, if two clergymen were in a New Haven pulpit during service, it



TRINITY CHURCH.

Built 1815.

was usual for the one who did not officiate to rise while the other announced the text of the discourse. The general observance of Church holy days and anniversaries is another important change. Christmas, Good Friday and Easter are now recognized as religious occasions by all denominations, and Lent is also piously observed, at least as a season of social tranquility, literary lectures, and the preparation of Easter millinery. These innovations, which one hundred years ago would have been regarded as little short of Roman Catholicism, and also the growing use of various portions of the Episcopal liturgy in Congregational worship, are among the borrowed graces by which New England Puritanism is being progressively mellowed and enriched. If imitation is flattery, the Episcopal Church may well feel a worthy gratification in observing the movement of all Protestant denominations toward the general adoption of its venerable and noble ritual. Not less heartily must every friend of christian unity rejoice to see each partition dissolve which tends to separate different sects or obscure the common ground on which they stand.

Early and later Church Music.

The allusion to organs and choirs suggests a reference to the different styles of church music which have enlivened the meeting-houses on the Green from 1640 down to modern times. Unfortunately the church and society records of New Haven, unlike those of many New England towns, throw little light on the subject and none at all before 1771. So far as can now be ascertained, the Sternhold and Hopkins collection of psalms was the only singing book used until about the time of the Revolution, when it was supplanted by Dr. Watts' version, and Dr. Dwight's Revision of Watts succeeded in the year 1800. The custom of "lining out" or reading each line of the psalm before it was sung was followed until 1774 if not later. It was abolished in the White Haven church in that year. Probably also

in the exercise of singing, each member of the congregation followed his own ideas of time and tune according to the general practice of New England churches until after the Revolution. The singing school of New England social circles was an institution unknown to the earlier period, and very few choirs were organized until after 1750. Before that time it was said by a contemporary writer: "No two men in the congregation quaver alike or together, and it sounds in the ears of a good judge like five hundred different tunes roared out at the same time with perpetual interferences with one another." A violent controversy finally sprung up throughout New England between two parties in church music, the one demanding the use of notes or "singing by rule," the other resisting the innovation on the ground that "singing by rule would be followed by praying by rule, and preaching by rule; and then comes popery."

If this agitation reached New Haven, there is no tradition of it. Possibly the use of Sternhold and Hopkins' instead of the Bay State Psalm Book may have prevented its necessity, as the former was not only far superior to the other in literary merit, but frequently contained musical notes. Perhaps the existence of the college here may have occasioned a better knowledge and practice of music than in most other towns, for we learn from Dr. Stiles' diary that at some of the special services there was "singing by the students." The first record of a church choir appeared in 1771, when the White Haven Church voted "that those persons who are singers in the congregation be desired to sit in the gallery together." A committee on music was also appointed and a number of tunes selected which should alone be used. In 1777 Andrew Law of Cheshire advertised "a collection of Psalm Tunes for use in Public Worship." In 1786 Daniel Reade published the "American Singing" Book in New Haven. In 1794, the First Ecclesiastical Society appropriated nine pounds for promoting instruction in singing conditioned on the other ecclesiastical societies doing the same.

From this time, if not earlier, choir singing superseded congregational singing. Singing schools became the chief social dissipation, and the gallery entered on its career as a rival of the pulpit for the principal honors of the service. As the choir developed in numbers and skill it naturally became more aspiring. It assumed independence in its sphere of action and aimed to monopolize the praising function entirely, selecting tunes which defied the ability of the congregation to follow, and indulging in artistic flights which scandalized the conservatives as awful exhibitions of "unsanctified singing." It was useless, however, to resist the march of musical progress, and in all attempts to do so the choir invariably came off triumphant. Thus in 1830 a majority of the United Church rose in opposition to the organ interludes and voted that "the symphonies be suspended for the ensuing year." The order had as little effect as the pope's bull against the comet, and at the next annual meeting the church only ventured humbly to suggest that "the symphonies be shortened."

The choir of the Center Church had no organ till 1856, but the want was more than made up by a wonderful orchestra of wind and stringed instruments, which Dr. Bacon appropriately designated "Nebuchadnezzar's band." The chorister for many years was Alling Brown, and under the guidance of his enrapturing fiddle, the achievements of his devoted followers were often grand and moving in the extreme. The great effort of the Sunday exercises was concentrated on the afternoon voluntary, which opened the service, and on which the choir had been carefully practicing through the previous week. "Expression" was their strong point, and few who remember those days will ever forget their impressive rendering of Dr. Watts' beautiful Psalm, beginning,

Let all the heathen writers join
To make a perfect book;
Great God! when once compared with thine
How mean their writings look!

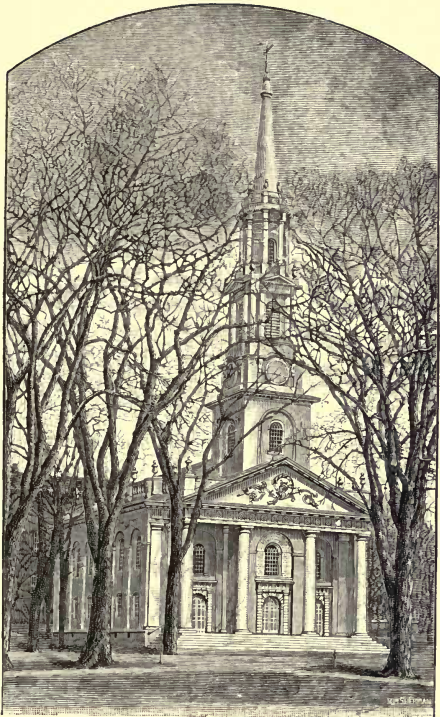
The first two lines were given with a bold self-confident air, reflecting the vainglory of the heathen writers, and their dismal failure was expressed by a derisive tone, followed by a snort of the trombone, highly expressive of contempt. Another noble stanza from Dr. Watts' collection afforded a fine opportunity for variety of expression, the music commencing with a lofty, heroic style, followed by a halting movement of hesitation and alarm, and closing with an air of pathos befitting the painful climax:

So Samson, when his hair was lost,
Met the Philistines to his cost!
Shook his vain limbs with sad surprise,
Made feeble fight, and lost his eyes!

Alas! the old-fashioned hymn-book and the volunteer choir of fifty years ago are gone, and with them are gone those soul-inspiring flights of feeling and harmony. With the growth of musical knowledge and taste the praising of God is now accomplished by salaried singers, who are selected for their ability to give the church a preëminence for artistic music and to fill it with appreciative audiences and rent-paying pewholders. Their Sunday programs are advertised in advance and their performances are made the subject of careful and critical comment by the newspapers, as if they were a public entertainment and not a solemn service of worship; a strange confusion of ideas and one entirely inexcusable because no money is taken at the door.

The Four Meeting-houses.

If now we look backwards over this review of New Haven Green as a religious and ecclesiastical arena, there pass before our mental vision the four successive meeting-houses of the original church as the most prominent landmarks in the retrospect; and we observe that each of them is associated with a distinct stage of progress in the mutual relations of church and state. The first rude and rickety



THE CENTER CHURCH.

Built 1812.

building, which stood from 1640 to 1670, was almost exactly contemporary with the period when church and state were identical, and fitly typified that crude and unstable polity. Structurally weak from the outset, both building and polity fell speedily into dilapidation, and both collapsed together. The second meeting-house, lasting from 1670 to 1757, was coeval with the dominance of a single ecclesiastical order in the civil government, and symbolized that era by its sole occupancy of the public square, its mingled secular and religious aspect and uses, and by its square ugliness without and its barren formalism within. When the third meeting-house was finished in 1757, a third stage had been reached in the ecclesiastical and civil history of Connecticut. The religious establishment was no longer confined to a single denomination. New orders had begun to be recognized as legitimate offshoots of the parent stock, and while the old Brick Meeting-house remained, additional branches were grafted upon the original stem to share in its legal recognition and privileges. The influence of these different communions upon each other was beneficial to all. Mutual observation tended to strengthen the tone of religious life, to make it less formal, more spiritual and earnest, broader and more progressive. The Brick Meeting-house, in contrast with its predecessor, illustrated these growing graces as well as this divided supremacy. Its outward appearance was more comely and more expressive of devotional uses. Moreover, it no longer monopolized the Green, and though the Brick and Fair Haven Meeting-houses always continued to confront each other in pugnacious attitude, they gradually lost their mutual acerbity, and by the time they passed away were ready to rest lovingly, side by side, as their successors have done ever since. By that time also, both were ready to welcome their sister Trinity to her new home on the Green as an acceptable member of the family group. But the time had now arrived when the people had outgrown the system of a state religion and the three churches

on the Green had hardly been erected when the institution was overthrown. Since 1818 church and state have been completely disassociated, to the unspeakable advantage of both. Religion, freed from political trammels, has outgrown its sectarian jealousies and, with more elevated aims, has advanced with an ever-widening activity in the service of God and man. Of this free, hopeful and brotherly christianity, illustrated by all denominations and by every individual church, the fourth house of worship in our historical series, that which pertains to the old First Church, the mother of all the rest, by its central position on the Green, its dominating spire, its happy combination of architectural dignity and grace, its historic tablets and memorials and its crypt filled with common ancestral tombs, seems to speak for all communions alike, and to extend to all alike its maternal greeting and benediction.

If we were to write upon each of these four successive temples of the ancient church an inscription, expressive of the spirit toward other forms of faith, which most distinguished its period, we should write upon the first one—"INTOLERANCE;" upon the second, "JEALOUSY;" upon the third, "RECOGNITION," and upon the fourth, "FELLOWSHIP."

And when the present edifice crumbles away, as in time it must, shall its place upon the Green remain forever vacant? Rather let that spot, consecrated to religion from the dawn of New Haven's history, be preserved as hallowed ground! Let another temple arise there and a new inscription be written upon it—a temple noble and enduring in architecture; a temple always open, and filled with the harmony of a universal form of worship; a temple with portals wide enough to admit all sincere believers of every name, who worship the common Father in spirit and in truth, and let the word that it bears be "UNION!"

NOTES TO PAPER No. III.

NOTE 1 (page 87).

Mr. Pierpont married Abigail Davenport October 27th, 1691. On the Sabbath after her wedding she attended meeting in her bridal dress, according to the fashion of the time, took cold, and died of consumption about three months later, February 3d, 1692. His second wife was a granddaughter of Gov. Haynes of Hartford, and his third, Mary Hooker, was a granddaughter of Rev. Thomas Hooker, the founder of Hartford. She lived till 1640 and her daughter Sarah married Jonathan Edwards, the eminent metaphysician and divine.

NOTE 2 (page 89).

In January, 1698, the town voted to build a new meeting-house of stone or brick 60 feet long, 50 feet wide and 20 feet high, for £500, but as nobody would take the contract it was decided to enlarge the old one "by adding 16 or 20 feet on ye side next ye burial place." In the two following years (1699 and 1700) there were numerous improvements in the exterior and interior of the building, and pews introduced "back of the pulpit," which were let with the privilege reserved to the town of filling the pews if the holders did not do so. There were "side galleries" and a "gallery behind the pulpit"—and in 1727 an additional gallery was placed above the others. The bell rope hung down through a hole in the center of the ceiling. Dr. Bacon is in error in supposing that the gallery stairs may have been outside. There were applications made and refused to build private pews "under the stairs to the men's gallery," and "under the stairs to the woman's gallery," and the constables were directed to prevent excessive noise in the use of the gallery stairs.

NOTE 3 (page 89).

The subject of seats in the meeting-house was a fruitful subject of discussion in town meeting for many years before 1700. A seating committee was annually appointed, but there were complaints that people took seats assigned to others and got into the "soldiers seats." After the enlargement of the meeting-house in 1700 it was thought a good time to revise the subject and the rule was laid down as stated in the text, and at the same time the dignity of the different seats was duly graded by vote. "The civil authority and the two deacons"

were then appointed a seating committee who at a subsequent meeting "published what they had done to ye towne" and their report was accepted. This is the last reference in the town records to the seating of people in the meeting-house. In 1715 the town was divided into two ecclesiastical societies of which "The First Ecclesiastical Society" comprised substantially what is now embraced in the town limits. Thereafter matters relating to religious worship, schools, etc. are found in the records of the First Ecclesiastical Society. From these it appears that seats were assigned to persons by name as late as 1719 and probably later. Students were placed in the galleries. A few private pews were allowed before the Brick Meeting-house was built in 1757, and more were permitted in that building, but they gave great occasion for unpleasant feeling and several sharp society votes through the inhospitable conduct of the owners. The Society made several attempts to buy them in but failed to accomplish it. In 1784 it voted to convert some of "the men's seats" and "the women's seats" into pews and to rent them annually, reserving the right to fill them if the lessees did not.

NOTE 4 (page 100).

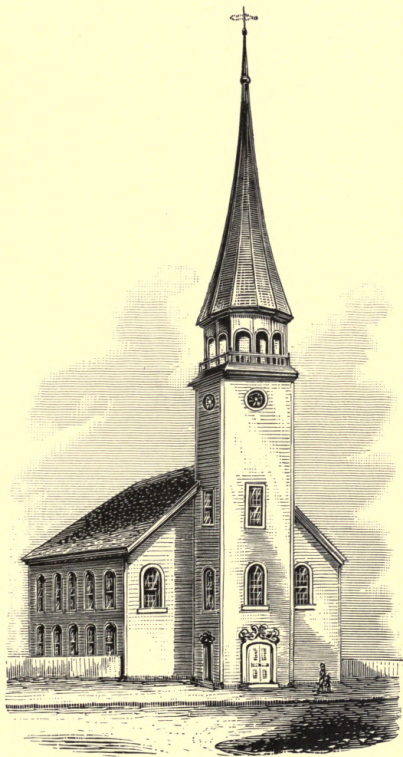
The story as handed down by tradition is that the officer permitted a cargo of lumber for the Center Church to pass quite readily on learning that it was for a religious edifice. The second cargo was also passed, but with some suspicion, on the assurance that it was for another church; but when a third cargo intended for Trinity appeared with the story that it was for a Church of England church he was found very difficult to persuade, but finally yielded with the compliment quoted in the text. Since this paper was written, however, Mr. E. C. Beecher has found and printed some documents which show that permission to convey the lumber for Trinity was obtained from Capt. Paget before it was shipped.

NOTE 5 (page 106).

Dr. Bacon says that the spire of the first Trinity Church was surmounted by a crown which remained until the removal of the church in 1817. A picture of the church which was taken after 1813 shows no such decoration.

NOTE 6 (page 107).

Cold churches before the present century were not exclusively a Puritan institution. Churches were not then warmed in England for the same reason which applied here, viz., there were no means of doing it. Fire-places were impracticable and stoves had not come into use. It was not until a later period that freezing during divine service was made a matter of principle.



FIRST TRINITY CHURCH.

Built 1753—Removed 1817.

From a Contemporary Painting in possession of Trinity Parish.

IV.

THE GREEN AS A FIELD OF MILITARY PARADES AND COUNCILS.

In the memorial window which adorns the west wall of the Center Church, the artist has introduced among the typical figures surrounding the preacher, that of a soldier in armor. The representation is appropriate, not merely as a feature of the scene depicted and with relation to the few years immediately following the settlement of New Haven, but for the more than two centuries and a half which have since elapsed. During the whole period of its history, not a generation has passed away without beholding the soldier armed and enrolled for actual conflict, marching forth from our public square. As introductory, therefore, to the military records of the Green, let me briefly recapitulate the successive wars in which New Haven has borne an active part, and to which successively for more than two hundred years it has sent forth its soldiers from the market place.

For the first twenty years after 1638, the military force of the colony was kept in constant readiness for active service, and was frequently drawn upon to aid in quelling Indian hostilities and disturbances. During the same period, also, there was a standing controversy, always verging on war, with the Dutch at New Netherlands, and in 1653, England being then at war with Holland, New Haven assisted in organizing a hostile expedition against these neighbors, which was only prevented from moving by the conclusion of peace in Europe. In 1673, another expedition was made ready against the Dutch, to which New Haven contributed its quota of men, but again peace was declared in time to prevent its departure. Two years later came King Philip's war, with subsequent Indian hostilities not repressed for several years. From 1689 to 1697 was the war known

to our forefathers as "King William's war;" the first of the long series of French and Indian wars which harassed New England for more than half a century. In 1702 came the second of the French and Indian wars, commonly designated "Queen Anne's war," which lasted till 1711. In 1739 began "King George's war" with Spain, in which France joined in in 1744, and which continued till 1748. In 1754 commenced what our grandfathers called "The Old French war" to distinguish it from the two subsequent wars with England, all of which were still fresh in their memories or traditions. This lasted till 1763. The Revolution followed in 1775 and ended in 1783. Then ensued a period of twenty-nine years, the most of which (from 1798 to 1812) could scarcely be called years of peace, since an embroilment little short of actual warfare continually existed against both France and Great Britain, culminating in war with Great Britain in 1812. In 1815 began thirty years of peace, except for hostilities waged against Indian tribes, lasting until the Mexican war commenced in 1845. This ended in 1848, and hardly thirteen years were suffered to elapse before the great rebellion drove the nation into fratricidal strife. Thus every generation in our history has been called to drink more or less frequently and deeply from the bloody cup of war. Since the last shot in the rebellion was fired, thirty years of peace have barely passed away, and again the shadow of war returns to hover over our land.* Let us hope that out of the darkness may arise a new light—the light of arbitration in all national disputes, and the dawning of a better day. May demoniac war be buried in the grave of the nineteenth century, and when the new-born twentieth smiles upon the world, may its message from heaven to all mankind be "Peace."

Peace! and no longer from its brazen portals
The blasts of war's harsh organ shake the skies!
But beautiful as songs of the immortals
The holy melodies of love arise!

* See Note 1 at the end of this Paper.

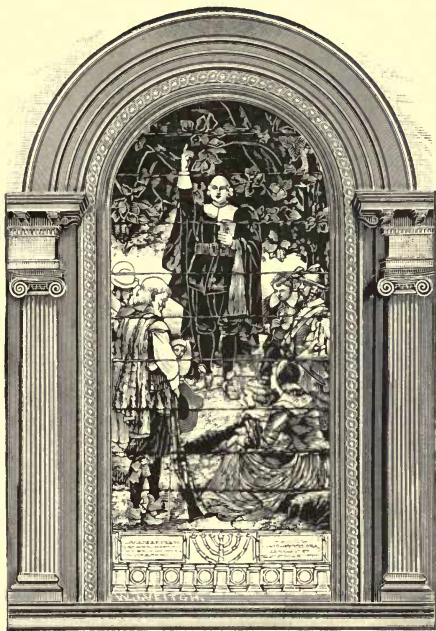
Early Military Regulations.

What military organization was maintained in New Haven Colony during the first year of its existence is unknown. The isolated situation of the settlement, within easy reach of the powerful and restless tribes of eastern Connecticut on one side and of eastern New York on the other, to say nothing of the less dangerous aborigines in its own neighborhood, no doubt caused a degree of warlike preparation and alertness to be maintained. It is certain that, in view of such necessity, the settlers had been careful to bring with them from Boston several veterans of previous Indian wars, and after the civil government had been established, these were formally invested with military commands. The first act of the Colonial government was to decapitate an Indian ; its second was to begin a meeting-house and the third to organize a military force.

On the 25th of November, 1639, it was ordered "that every one that beares armes shall be compleately furnished with armes—viz: a muskett, a sword, bandoliers, a rest, a pound of powder, 20 bulletts fitted to their muskett, or four pounds of pistoll shott or swan shott at least, and be ready to show them in the markt place upon Monday, the 16th of this month [meaning the month following] before Capt. Turner and Lieut. Seely under penalty of 20s fine for default or absence." The review and inspection which took place under this order, December 16, 1639, begins the military history of the Green, and also the history of the Second Regiment of the Connecticut National Guard. The force then organized was known for many years as "the train band," and numbered in the beginning about two hundred men. It was at first divided into four squadrons, each under the command of a sergeant; the commissioned officers being a captain, a lieutenant, and an antient or standard bearer. Every man was required to supply himself with some kind of a shooting iron, whether

matchlock or firelock, with all appurtenances complete, and to keep the same in perfect condition. The town owned a supply of pikes, which it kept in a chest in the meeting-house, while several barrels of powder with other military property were stowed away in the prison. Uniforms there were none at first, though probably the officers wore the helmet and breastplate of the period, but in 1643 the Court, in view of impending Indian hostilities, ordered "that every family within this plantacion shall have a coate of cotton woole, well and substantially made so as itt may be fitt for service, and that in convenient time the taylours see it be done." These coats were intended as a defensive armor against Indian arrows, but whether they proved as useful as they must have been ornamental does not appear. It was not long, however, before the Indians were supplied with muskets, which so "knocked the stuffing" out of the coats that in 1673 the town voted to sell its whole supply for what they would bring.

The first commander of the New Haven army was Capt. Nathaniel Turner, who in 1640 was chosen by the General Court "to be Captain and to have the command and ordering of all martial affairs of the Plantation." He held this office until 1645, when he departed for England in Lambertson's ship, which was never afterwards heard from. On his departure Mr. Malbone was chosen to fill his place during his absence, Robert Seely was appointed lieutenant and Francis Newman "antient," or ensign. Four sergeants and four corporals were also chosen. In selecting officers our pious forefathers rated church membership as the most important qualification for military command. The General Court in 1661 declared: "We cannot be persuaded to commit our more mighty civil or military trusts into the hands of either a crafty Ahithopell or a bloody Joab, though such should seem to be better accomplished with either natural or acquired abilities above those that are as well lawful as intituled freemen."



THE TROWBRIDGE MEMORIAL WINDOW
In west wall of the Center Church.

There was one conspicuous military personage, however, for whom neither piety nor orthodoxy was indispensable. This was the drummer, who in his military capacity comprised in his single person an entire regimental band. As a civil functionary holding the office of town drummer, he was still more multifarious, being town clock, meeting-house bell, and public morning rooster all in one. His duties were to attend all squadron and general trainings, to beat the call for all meetings of the General Court, and for all religious gatherings on Sundays and week days, to summon the watch at sunset, and to beat a reveille "half an hour before day in the market place and some of the streets." To promote punctuality and social enjoyment in his use of the last named privilege the watch was ordered "to call him an hour before day, and to walk with him as a guard while he continues beating." The most distinguished incumbent of this responsible office was Robert Bassett, a jolly Yorkshireman, whose proclivity for jovial companionship and the use of exhilarants other than the spirit-stirring drum brought him occasionally before the magistrates' courts, where he was wont "to face the music" in a somewhat sturdy manner. The authorities were compelled to treat him gingerly lest an interruption of his official functions should derange the whole civil and military machinery of the commonwealth; but his growing incompatibility of temperament with "a state whose design was religion" led him to migrate to Stamford, where he speedily joined with other malcontents in drumming up opposition to the established order of churchly government. For this he was arrested and brought to trial at New Haven as a seditious conspirator, and incarcerated in the prison house directly over the powder magazine. There, with neither fire, pipe nor toddy to sustain his zeal, his ardor as a constitutional expounder soon cooled, and on making a humble submission he was released with a warning. The next year, partly from policy and partly on account of his thumping professional merits, he was appointed chief drum-

mer of the forces then being raised against the Dutch. The appointment had at least the effect of keeping him quiet, and thereafter Robert bobs up in the records no more.

Among the martial materials owned by the town were half a dozen small iron cannons, which had been brought from Boston, and are respectfully referred to in the records as "the Great Gunnes."* In 1645 a volunteer artillery company was formed and the Court ordered that "Henry Peck and Old Bassett should sett the Great Gunnes upon good strong carryadges." Three of these "Gunnes" appear to have been kept on the market place near the watch-house and presumably the artillery company were exercised in the use of them. All soldiers were also trained to use the pikes, which were kept "in the meeting-house chest" and in broad-sword and cudgel practice. A shooting range was established at Oystershell Fields, which was a tract of 40 acres east of Union street, bounded southerly by the water, and prizes were established for the best marksmen.

Training days were frequent and attendance was encouraged by fines, which were unflinchingly levied and collected. As other inducements it was ordered that the soldiers, in the intervals of drill, "doe exercise themselves in running, wrastling, leaping and the like manly exercises," and to complete their round of hilarity it was requested that "the ruling elders should speake to the souldiers something by way of exhortation to quicken them to a conscientious attendance to their duty." After the military exercises of the day were over, and the elder had concluded his pious exhortation and the men had run and wrastled and leaped to the full extent of their legal obligations, they were permitted to indulge in the more frivolous amusements of "stole bale, nine pins, quaites and such like games" if they had time or spirit left to do so.

* See Note 2.

The Colony Colors.

Although an "antient" or standard-bearer was from the first appointed by the General Court both for the infantry and artillery companies, there were, for some reason unknown, no colors provided for several years. In May, 1647, Capt. Malbone "propounded to the Court that seeing the towne had no cullors for the Traine Band that therefore the towne would pay for part of them and let the artillery have the use of them." The proposal, however, did not meet with favor, and "it was respited." The artillery company therefore with proper spirit purchased colors at its own expense and used them in the town trainings, and in 1648 the town adopted them as the town colors and paid their cost. Why this delay and hesitation on the part of the colony in adopting military colors and what were the colors finally adopted? The answer to these questions is perhaps connected with a bit of Massachusetts history.

Three years before the New Haven colonists left Boston, John Endicott had cut the cross out of the king's colors borne by the colonial troops, as a papistical emblem, and though the magistrates disapproved the act at first they afterwards accepted it, and the cross was left out of the Massachusetts colonial standard until 1651. At that date the Puritans had come into control of the English government, and as they had not seen fit to alter the national ensign, the prejudice in Massachusetts abated, and the General Court "considering that the English ensign is distinctive of nationality and as such necessary to be recognized and used," voted that the "English colors should be raised on the castle till the state of England shall alter the same which we much desier." New Haven Colony was in close political and religious sympathy with Massachusetts, and possibly the authorities prior to 1647 were in doubt whether to adopt "the King's colors" with the cross or without it, and so deferred action till the artillery company

settled the question for itself. Presumably the standard adopted by the company was the Union ensign of Great Britain, established in 1606, consisting of the conjoined crosses of St. George and St. Andrew on a blue ground. Presumably also the cross was left in, as we have no intimation to the contrary. We know that in the same year (1647) Gov. Eaton caused the king's arms to be carved in wood and set up on the seashore as a warning against encroachments by the Dutch. He would not be likely to mutilate the device in such a case, and possibly the necessity for a colonial sign-board may have influenced the decision with respect to the colonial banner.

In 1656 a cavalry corps numbering sixteen troopers was organized in New Haven Colony. Of these New Haven furnished six men and horses and the other towns of the colony the rest. The troopers of each plantation were required to exercise themselves and their horses in military movements at home and to meet in general training at New Haven four times a year. This company does not appear to have proved a success and was disbanded in 1664.

The train band of New Haven was not allowed to rust in idleness, and the Green as a field of Mars was put to abundant use. Squadron or company trainings were had on the market place at first every week, and afterwards every two months. General reviews were held six times a year in which between two hundred and three hundred soldiers paraded as infantry and artillery, to say nothing of the sixteen rampant troopers on their bucolic steeds, all fully arrayed in warlike panoply. As all the infantry and artillery companies were well armed, drilled and disciplined, the Green on these occasions must have presented a martial appearance. In addition to these trainings and parades one company of soldiers was required to attend public worship every Sabbath, lecture, and fast day with arms complete. The standing order was that "they be at the meeting-house before the second drum hath left beating, their gunnes ready charged with a fitt proportion of match for match

locks and flints ready fitted in their firelock pieces and shott and powder for five or six charges at the least." If this order was complied with there must have been on each Sunday at the meeting-house an armed guard of at least fifty men. Seats were provided for them near the door. Sentinels were posted in the market place and patrols walked the streets. And it was ordered that "the door of the meeting-house next the souldiers' seats should be kept clear of women and children sitting there, that if there be occasion for the souldiers to goe suddenly forth they may have a free passage."

Attendance at the meeting-house must have been the hardest part of the soldiers' duties, and doubtless they often fervently wished for a blood-curdling war whoop under the windows as an agreeable variation of the service. Failing in this relief, they occasionally indulged in a little private warfare among themselves. In June, 1662, William Payne "informed the court that at the last day of humiliation he saw great disorders in the souldiers' seats, laughing, struggling and pulling of a hatte from one to another, and also he heard that Mrs. Goodyear's Boy had his head broke that day." Brother Lines confirmed the dreadful tale, and "Brother Elsy said that a woman did so speake that she never saw such disorders, and that she doubted that the wrath of God would be brought upon us." The Court, greatly scandalized, made rigid inquiry. Sam Potter, one of the inculpated warriors, was charged with having been asleep, and when awakened by John Hitchcock, acknowledging the attention by a vigorous kick. Sam Potter replied that "he was not asleep, but that not feeling well he was leaning over the bench and that John Hitchcock knocked him many times, and Stephen Parsons threw pieces of lime at him which did provoke him." Considerable testimony having been taken, Sam Potter was told by the Court that it did not plainly appear whether he was asleep or not, but that he should avenge himself by kicking was very evill, though it was seen that he was little sensible

of it." At this hint Sam penitently professed that "he was sorry he should so carry it as to kick him and desired to see his evill, and was sensible of his sinn," and concluded with the unmilitary vow that "for all time to come he should never lift up hand or foot against any." Whereupon "the Court was pleased to pass it by." Stephen Parsons, however, who acknowledged "that he did lie along the seat in an uncomely manner" and "that there was striving between John Clarke and himself aboute a hatte in time of divine service," was roundly lectured, and two others were sentenced to be corporally whipped. At the intercession of friends, however, and on promises of future good behavior, the punishment was remitted.

The Town Watch.

The regular duties of the militia were not limited to parades, reviews and attendance upon public worship. The whole force was divided into night watches of six men each, besides a master of each watch; the number being increased in times of special danger. Every night at sundown the drum was beaten and within half an hour the master of the watch must be "at the Court of Guard" (meaning the room which was used for headquarters in the watch-house) and the rest of the watch within one hour after sunset. The watchmen were required to patrol the streets in couples, to arrest all suspicious or disorderly persons and to give an alarm in case of the approach of enemies or in case of fire. It was found that patrolling the streets on dark nights was attended with serious damage to shins, and numerous breaches of the third commandment in consequence of obstructions left on the walks, and in 1647 a town meeting "propounded that men would clear wood and stones from their pale sides that the watchmen on dark nights may safely walk the rounds without being hurt." This was the first sidewalk ordinance in New Haven, and it had the distinguished merit of being a sensible one.

The watch-house was located about opposite the present site of Farnam Hall. It was commodious and had a fire-place in it, and became a favorite lounging place of nights, so that in 1652 the Court passed an order "forbidding all persons to come there after the watch is sett, as is the manner of some to doe, whereby they idle away the time and hinder the watch in their service." Sleeping in the watch-house was strictly forbidden and was punished by fine when found out, as it occasionally was. An extract from the records bearing on this point is interesting, especially as it gives a glimpse of the Green as it appeared on a moonlight night in May, 1653. In November of that year, "Sam Hodgkins complayned of ye watch that one night, about ye beginning of May last, he came from John Harriman's late in ye night where he had been grinding malt [John Harriman's was about where Traeger's Hotel now stands on Chapel street, and Sam was crossing the Green toward Elm street], and when he came aboute ye great gunnes, ye moon shining bright, he saw ye sentinel stand at ye watch-house corner; he marvelled that he spake nott, so he passed on; but when he was almost at Mr. Goodenhouse's [on Elm street near College] he thought he had not done well that he spake nott to them; therefore went back and so neare ye sentinel as he thought he might have struck him before he spake, and reprovod him for his carelessness in these dangerous times; but he marvelled that upon his discourse with ye sentinel he heard no stirring in ye watch-house; therefore went in and found John Winton, ye master, asleep in ye chair and ye men snorting that he asked if they were driving hogges." The charge of being asleep was vigorously denied by the master and all his men, and as Sam's reputation was unsavory and his motives in making the complaint suspicious, the Court found the charge "not proved." The persons implicated, however, kept an eye on Mr. Hodgkins, and it was not many months before he was "complayned of because he doth not attend ye public ordinances on ye Sabbath days

nor attend ye order of ye towne in bringing his armes to do service as the rest of ye squadron, but it is said stayeth at home and sleepeth away his time." The record adds that "he made sundry excuses, but all would not clear him, wherefore he was seriously warned to take heed of this disorder, for hereafter if complaints goe on of this kind he will agayne be warned to ye court and find more sharp proceeding than now he doth."

Military Achievements of New Haven Colony.

Of actual warfare, whether within or outside of its own borders, New Haven Colony before its union with Connecticut saw but little. The aboriginals in its neighborhood were not at all dangerous, but the warlike and powerful tribes of eastern Connecticut and Rhode Island, the Mohegans, the Niantics and the Narragansetts, continually stirred up as they were by restless agitators like Uncus* and his rivals Canonicus, Pessacus and other cusses, kept them constantly on the ragged edge of anxiety and it was Lo here! and Lo there! all the time. At three different times New Haven joined with the other colonies in organized expeditions against their red-skinned neighbors. A quota of six men was sent in 1644, about the same number in 1645 and sixteen in 1654. Besides these military enterprises, the colony fitted out others which never marched, the most important of which was one against the Dutch in 1654, and to which this town contributed fifty men. The object of this expedition was the capture and annexation of Manhattan Island. New Haven was enthusiastic for consolidation, and there was every prospect of success, when the movement was frustrated by the sudden conclusion of peace between England and Holland. It does not appear that our forefathers appointed any day

*This is the spelling in the records. "Uncas" is a modern form of the name.

of thanksgiving for the blessing of peace, and the omission will be fully approved of by some of us in the present generation, however pacific we may be upon general principles, whose prospective ownership of New York ancestral building lots was then so unhappily blasted.

After 1660 the fear of Indian hostilities subsided, and in consequence the rigor of military regulations was much relaxed, and the town watch fell into disuse. On the 22d of August, 1661, there was a general parade of the New Haven Colony train bands on the Green to assist in the proclamation of Charles II. as King of Great Britain, and the English provinces of North America; a performance rather late in the day and more perfunctory than enthusiastic. In 1665 New Haven passed into the jurisdiction of Connecticut, and thereafter her military records became a part of Connecticut history.

King Philip's war began in 1675 and lasted somewhat over a year, during which period New Haven was kept in a constant state of anxiety and alarm. Frequent calls were made upon the town for soldiers, both horse and foot. The town meetings chiefly discussed measures of defence. Palisades were erected around the settlement; the meeting-house and other buildings were fortified, and a military watch re-established in the market place and streets. Sixty-three men were supplied by New Haven to the army in the field, with a horse for every commissioned officer, and one for every three enlisted men. These soldiers did gallant service in the bloody assault on Narragansett Fort, twenty being killed and wounded, besides their commander, Capt. Seeley, who fell inside the fort. In August, 1676, a sloop from Rhode Island brought the joyful news that Philip was dead, but for months afterward there were "rumors of Indian stirrings and a noise of war reported," and the militia were ordered to maintain the watch, and "to furnish guards in their course for ye Sabbath days." It was several years before the anxiety and excitement attending Philip's war were over. Even as late as March, 1681, the town

was thrown into a panic by news of "a great body of Indians gathered up Hudson River," and it was urged in town meeting that "ye appearing of ye blazing starr in ye winter with ye reports of gunnes and drums heard by some, and ye earthquake taken notis of in a neighboring town, may be forerunners of some great change or judgment neare." A committee was appointed on fortifications and the watch, but at the next town meeting the blazing starre and the earthquake were exonerated from suspicion, by the committee's report that there existed no real cause for alarm.

In 1690, following the accession of William and Mary, the first French and Indian war commenced from the direction of Canada, and New Haven rose promptly to the situation. At a town meeting on the 3d of March, 1690, the military watch was ordered to be renewed; the whole body of soldiers were directed to bring their arms to meeting on the Sabbath days; mounted scouts to be sent out daily, and fortifications commenced. It was also voted to draw out one-tenth of the listed soldiers to form part of a flying army "to be commanded by such officers as the Major General shall appoint with the approbation of the major part of said flying army." This war lasted five years, till 1697. During that period New Haven took part in several abortive expeditions toward Canada. In 1697 the town was called on for a company to go to New York to defend it against an anticipated attack by the French fleet, but the call appears to have been countermanded.

Another French and Indian war broke out in 1702, in which New Haven quotas were called for at different times. In 1711 the whole Connecticut contingent of three hundred and fifty men, raised to co-operate in an attack on Canada, made this town their place of rendezvous. Here also were collected their arms, horses, equipments and supplies, and for several weeks the market place and streets were filled with the throngs and bustle of a military encampment. In November news came of the failure of the expedition, but the abundant cash which it had left behind it in New Haven

gave a silver lining to the cloud, and lent on the whole an aspect of cheerfulness to the situation.

In 1739 again war's trumpet sounded across the market place, calling for New Haven troops to take part in hostilities between the mother country and Spain. The General Assembly of that year organized the militia force of Connecticut into thirteen regiments; the companies from New Haven, Branford, Milford and Derby composing the Second Regiment. An official report in 1739 shows six companies of the Second Regiment in New Haven, with a muster roll of five hundred and eighty-eight men, while the whole population of the town did not exceed four thousand in number.

In the years 1740, 1741 and 1742 volunteers were called for to join the expedition sent by the British government in Admiral Vernon's fleet against Cartagena and Havana. An expedition of mournful fame, not so much for its failure in military achievement as on account of those fearful ravages of pestilence in the harbor of Havana, which the poet Thompson refers to in familiar lines:

You gallant Vernon saw
The miserable scene; and heard the groans
Of agonizing ships: From shore to shore
Heard nightly plunged amid the sullen waves
The frequent corse! While on each other fixed
In sad presage, the blank assistants seemed
Silent to ask whom Fate would next demand.

Doubtless the fever-wasted body of many a New Haven boy fed the sharks along those fatal shores, for it is said that out of one thousand Connecticut men who went away not one hundred ever returned.* Three years later, however, all the woe of this calamitous experience was forgotten in the joy of a glorious triumph. In 1745 was undertaken the famous expedition against Louisburg, the Colonies alone originating and conducting the enterprise. Connecticut sent eleven hundred men, of whom New Haven

* See Note 3.

furnished her proportion, among her officers being David Wooster and Nathan Whiting, who then gained their first military laurels. The Connecticut troops sailed from New London in April, and early in August came the thrilling news that the renowned and impregnable fortress was captured. No military success in Colonial history ever aroused such joy and enthusiasm. Bells were rung, cannons fired and bonfires blazed in the market place. New England rum flowed in streams, and the glory of the achievement continued to be a favorite theme for discourse among our ancestors for three generations.

In 1748 grim-visaged war re-smoothed his wrinkled front, and left the land in quiet for several years; but in 1754 his features took a new contortive twist and introduced the last and fiercest of the French and Indian wars. It was during this eventful period that the names of Wooster and Whiting were written large upon New Haven's roll of fame as the earliest of her conspicuous military heroes. Our soldiers' monument will never be complete till their statues stand with those of Foote and Terry about its base or take the place upon its shaft of those nondescript animals which now adorn it. In 1755 Wooster was colonel of the Third Connecticut Regiment, and Whiting lieutenant-colonel of the Second, both of which regiments took part in the expedition against Crown Point.

It was on the 25th of May of that year that Whiting had his command drawn up on the Green in front of Mr. Noyes' Meeting-house ready for their departure. One thing only they lacked to give them a satisfactory send-off, and that was a rousing sermon. In this they were not disappointed, for Rev. Isaac Stiles then preached a discourse, of which an imperfect copy is found in the College Library, and which was fitted to stir the blood in the rafters of the meeting-house. In a strain of fiery eloquence he conjured the soldiers to "file off the rust of their firelocks, that exquisitely contrived and tremendous instrument of death." Also to "attend to the several beats of that great warlike

instrument the drum, and to the language of the shrill, high-sounding trumpet, that noble, reviving and animating sound." He painted a glowing vision of their prospective achievements. "Fierce as young lions with undaunted courage they wave their flaming faulchions, which make frightful circles in the air; and the battered arms, bleeding skulls and cloven trunks of the slain, together with the dolorous groans and bellowing of the wounded, witness that these were not wooden swords, but made of triple steel." He depicts their Papist foes smitten by guilty consciences, beginning to waver, but "the good soldiers of Jesus Christ all the while shine with all the beauty and luster that inward sanctity and outward charms lend to the heroes' look; and fierce as a whirlwind down they drive the faithful edge of their swords tearing"—but here the tattered copy of the sermon gives out as if it could no longer hold together under the strain of so much eloquence; and we can only presume that the preacher in closing assured his hearers, in the words of a modern orator, that "the hand of Providence would smile on their cause and the God of victory would perch upon their banners."

Happily in that campaign, victory did perch upon their banners. It was the same campaign in which Gen. Phineas Lyman of Connecticut, after the commander-in-chief, William Johnson, had left the field, gained the splendid victory at Fort Edward, for which Johnson was knighted, while Lyman was not even mentioned in his dispatches. In this fight, Whiting also showed conspicuous skill and bravery, and though he received no recognition from the British government, he was promoted by the General Assembly to a colonelcy in the following year. As colonel of the Second Regiment, he took part in the campaigns of 1758, '59, '60 and '61. Wooster, during the same period, was in command of the Third Regiment, and many of the officers and men under both commanders were from New Haven and the neighboring towns.

During the old French war, the ecclesiastical conflict between the Old-lights and New-lights was raging in New Haven, and after Mr. Noyes' Meeting-house had covered itself with glory by the sermon of Mr. Stiles to Col. Whiting's regiment, it was no more than proper that the Blue Meeting-house, which Col. Wooster attended, should also have its innings. Accordingly in April, 1759, Col. Wooster, on the day of marching with his command to join Amherst's expedition against Canada, assembled his troops on the Green and led them into the Blue Meeting-house on the corner of Elm and Church streets, where they were addressed by the Rev. Mr. Bird on "The Importance of the Divine Presence with our Hosts." The sermon did not make so much havoc with the enemy as that of Mr. Stiles, and consequently the campaign was much longer and more arduous, but it at last was crowned with success; and the French power in Canada had been practically overthrown before the New Haven troops returned and were mustered out in the market place.

On the 23d of January, 1761, two troops of horse and four companies of foot were drawn up "on the Great Square before the Town House," which stood near the corner of Elm and College streets. To this place of parade, escorted by Capt. Peck's company of foot, came "His Honor, the Governor, and the gentlemen of the Council, with many other gentlemen of distinction, and there in the audience of a numerous concourse the accession of His Sacred Majesty, George the Third, was formally proclaimed amid three general huzzas and a royal salute of twenty-one cannon." The change of sovereign did not bring any relaxation of the war; expeditions followed in 1761, 1762 and 1763, in all of which Cols. Whiting and Wooster and other New Haven soldiers bore honorable part.

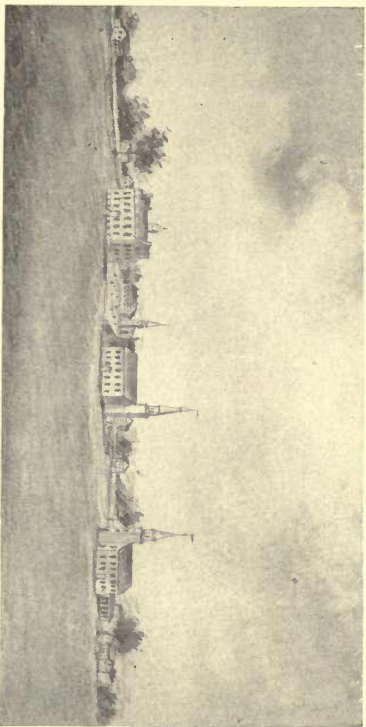
During and after the Revolution.

After 1763 peace smiled again, and the Green had rest from war till 1775. In April of that year, news of the battle of Lexington and Concord arrived—those lively international athletic contests in which, as in the contests of last fall in New York, the Yankees excelled in putting the shot and the Britons in long-distance running. The citizens at once assembled in the Brick Meeting-house to consider the situation. Roger Sherman was chosen Moderator and a warm debate ensued. A Committee of Safety was appointed and before night the Second Company of Foot Guards, then just organized, had held a meeting and, with that alacrity for excursion trips which it still retains, had voted to proceed immediately to Boston. The next morning, fully armed and equipped, they assembled on the Green. There were prayers and an address by Rev. Jonathan Edwards, and then Capt. Arnold requested the Selectmen to furnish a supply of powder for the expedition. Those officials were disposed to demur, but on his assurance that he would leave town as soon as he got it they promptly handed him the keys of the powder house, and begged him to help himself. The trip of the Guards to Boston was a great success. They were much admired in all the places through which they passed, and after their arrival at the front, when on one occasion they pierced the enemy's lines, under a flag of truce, an English officer warmly declared that there was no body of men who made so fine an appearance in the British army.

Whatever hesitation may have been felt at first by the town with regard to an immediate and energetic support of the patriot cause quickly disappeared. New military companies were speedily organized; an artillery company, two companies of householders and a company of Yale College students. Committees of public safety and of correspondence were formed and sat in continuous session;

and the Court House was kept alive for months with frequent town meetings, at which vote followed vote to procure arms, equipments and powder; to establish beacons, to fortify Black Rock and other places, and requesting all persons who held to the king to leave town immediately. In June, Col. Wooster's regiment paraded on the Green under orders for New York, and their commander having failed to find a minister to conduct a religious service, marched his men into the Blue Meeting-house and offered prayers himself for the success of their cause and their enterprise. In July, Gen. Washington, in company with Gen. Lee, on his way through town to take command of the American army, stopped over night at Mr. Beers' tavern on the corner of College and Chapel streets. Noah Webster informs us that "the next morning the generals reviewed the students' military company on the Green and expressed their surprise and gratification at the expertness with which they performed their exercises. The company then escorted the generals as far as Neck Bridge, and this was the first instance of that honor conferred on Gen. Washington in New England." Mr. Webster adds: "It fell to my humble lot to lead this company with music."

The most interesting military event which occurred on the Green during the Revolutionary war, and the one longest remembered by the people of New Haven, was the celebration of Independence, July 5, 1779, by the British troops, in place of the exercises previously planned by the citizens. The day was ushered in by the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon, but not exactly in the jubilant way contemplated by the committee. The procession also formed with promptitude, but instead of wending its course leisurely around the Green, it made the best possible time toward Hamden and North Haven. The out-of-town visitors came more numerous than had been expected; they were, however, warmly received in the suburbs by the local militia and citizens; among the latter, President Daggett mounted on his black mare and bearing a fowling



THE GREEN IN 1775.
From a Drawing owned by the New Haven Colony Historical Society.

piece, was conspicuous for the attentions which he bestowed on the strangers and which they cordially recognized by an urgent invitation to accompany them. The line of march was somewhat lengthy owing to objections interposed at West Bridge, and it was one o'clock before the visiting soldiery marched upon the Green, escorting President Daggett in their midst in a very dilapidated condition, deeply pondering on military glory and inclined to believe that its charms had been overrated. The parade being over, the soldiers were dismissed for refreshments, and entertained themselves with so much hospitality, and such an exuberant overflow of spirits, that the effects were speedily manifest in their greatly impaired walk and conversation. As these irregularities increased, the officers, fearing that the local authorities would put in an appearance and commit the whole party to the lock-up, decided to bring the celebration to a close. The general illumination which had been planned for the evening was given up, and those few men who could preserve their equilibrium were employed in collecting together those who could not. By nine o'clock the Green was strewn with the prostrate forms of those who had most deeply imbibed the spirit of the occasion, watched over by such as were still able to stand. At a later hour, by the aid of carts, wagons and wheelbarrows kindly loaned for the purpose, all who could not walk were conveyed to the wharf, and by the next morning all the visitors had taken their departure.

It was a full month after this surprise party before the good people of New Haven had sufficiently recovered their equanimity to hold a town meeting. On August 6th, however, they came together "in a state of mind," and passed a number of votes. One of these called to account those persons who had staid in town during the unexpected visitation of July 5th. Another called to account those persons who went away on the same occasion; and a third was one of great exasperation against certain inhuman and unscrupulous persons who since that date had been

charging an exorbitant price for rum—the scarcity of which since the invasion was evidently regarded as one of its gloomiest results. At the next town meeting, however, a more equable temper was manifested. The vote concerning rum was “on second consideration rescinded.” The citizens who remained to meet the visitors and also those who kept out of their way were both exonerated. A comfortable sum was realized by the confiscation of Tory property; and after a reasonable time, the price of Santa Cruz having receded to the normal standard, the public mind regained its wonted equanimity.

The military record of the Green after the Revolution must be rapidly passed over.* For many years it related only to the regular training day parades of the local militia in May and September. In 1809 the Second Company of Governor’s Horse Guards, which had become disbanded, was re-organized, and thereafter took part in the militia parades for several years. After 1826, however, it fell into a decline and remained disrupted till again re-organized in 1861. During the war of 1812, British ships lay in Long Island Sound, and New Haven companies were constantly on the alert for a call to repel invasion. More than once they assembled on an alarm at the flagstaff, the appointed rendezvous, but though ever valiant for fight and ready to put to flight the armies of the aliens, the hostile force was never so unfortunate as to confront them. The nearest approach to actual warfare in which they engaged was in 1813, when the Foot Guards turned out to suppress a sailors’ riot on Long Wharf, a duty which they performed with efficiency and dispatch. The old State House near Trinity Church was the headquarters of all the military companies, and contained their drill rooms, as did also its successor until about 1860.

The first Monday in May, 1817, is interesting as the date of the first public parade of the New Haven Grays. On the 4th of July in the same year they formed part of the

* See Note 4.

escort of President Monroe on his visit to this city. In 1820 the first election parade which ever occurred in New Haven took place, and as these pageants are now obsolete in our city, it may be interesting to quote the description of this first one as given in the Foot Guards' records:

"Between ten and eleven o'clock the line was formed under command of Maj. Hotchkiss with the Horse Guards on the right, Foot Guards on the left and Artillery in the center. At two o'clock the Governor and Senate were received at the Court House, and from thence escorted to the North Church, where appropriate services were performed. At the close of service at the church, the line was again formed and marched back to the Court House, where His Excellency took the oath of office and was escorted to his lodgings. The company was then dismissed for dinner and sat down to a bountiful entertainment at the County Hotel."

In 1824 the visit of Gen. Lafayette to New Haven called out a general military parade and review on the Green, the Foot Guards, Horse Guards and Grays being in the line. In 1828 the New Haven Blues were organized as an artillery company, and their records proudly inform us that in May, 1829, they appeared on the Green with the first pair of brass field-pieces drawn by horses that had ever been seen in New Haven. The occasion was also signalized by the presentation of an elegant stand of colors to the company, imposingly drawn up with its guns and horses in front of the flag-staff. The military spirit was now commendably developed among the young men of New Haven, and for many years not only the regular semi-annual training days in May and September were always marked by fine military displays on the Green, but also numerous special occasions of which the most important may be here enumerated. On February 22, 1832, the centennial anniversary of Washington's birthday was celebrated by an imposing parade of all the companies; and in June of the same year a visit by the Seventh Regiment of New York was made the occasion

of a grand reception and parade. In 1833 President Jackson was escorted to the State House by the military companies for a public reception. In April, 1838, the centennial celebration of the settlement of New Haven was attended by a military parade. In 1847 President Polk visited this city and was escorted by all the companies to the State House. In 1852 a very brilliant display greeted Louis Kossuth and attended him to the same place of public reception. Besides these more conspicuous special parades on the Green, there were numerous others of less importance, especially on various Fourth of July, which day was more frequently celebrated by military displays before the civil war than in later years.

As an event of local celebrity rather than of military history, the burlesque parade of "the Invincibles" on June 1, 1833, may be here referred to. This redoubtable corps was commanded by Gen. Timothy Tremendous mounted on a rackabones charger, who reached the back of his fiery steed by descending a ladder from a second-story window. The company in its equipments and general appearance was modelled after Falstaff's ragged regiment, and except for its sufficiency of clothing would nowadays be taken for a gang of student athletes out for exercise. After marching through the principal streets, the company brought up at the south steps of the State House, and was there addressed by its commander in an outburst of blood and thunder, which has lately been published by several of our city papers as editorial matter on the Venezuelan question.

Among the special services rendered by the uniformed companies between 1840 and 1854 was their attendance on three different occasions at executions of criminals in the jail yard on Church street, directly opposite the Green. This military attendance was the survival of an old custom, now disused, which was designed to render as agreeable as possible to the recipient of the honor, an experience at best somewhat disconcerting. After the exercises in the jail yard had been performed to the satisfaction of all concerned,

the soldiers were entertained by the sheriff at a genial banquet in honor of the occasion and dismissed with his thanks for their kind and cordial coöperation.

The zeal and public spirit manifested by the young men of New Haven who thus for two generations kept up military organizations in our city, were the more praiseworthy because during those weak, piping times of peace public interest in the military service had greatly declined, and the encouragement and support of the State had been almost entirely withheld. It will hardly be believed, did not the fact appear in the records of the Common Council, that in September, 1846, that body requested the commanding officer of the militia not to parade on the Green the next day, which was one of the two annual parade days fixed by law, and reminded him that a by-law of the city prohibited thus parading. In September, 1859, the Common Council grudgingly granted permission to the Second Regiment to use the north half of the lower Green for their semi-annual parade: and in the following year it designated the same liberal space for the same purpose. From such causes as these the membership of the Grays so dwindled that at their annual parade in 1854 the company numbered only seven men—two commissioned and two non-commissioned officers and three privates. Nothing daunted, they provided themselves with new uniforms, hired a drum corps from New York City, consisting of twelve pieces, and paraded on the Green and in the streets through the day, closing with a banquet at the Tontine Hotel. Indomitable spirits like these might be expected to achieve high distinction, and accordingly we find that in after life one of the sturdy seven captured Fort Fisher and another is now a director of the New Haven Colony Historical Society.

Training Days of the State Militia.

The uniformed companies which we have thus commemorated formed but a part of the active State militia in New Haven down to 1848, though they were the only

part which could be called a military corps. Until that year, by the laws of the State, all able-bodied citizens between eighteen and forty-five (with certain specific exemptions) were not only enrolled in the militia but were required to appear on appointed days fully armed and equipped for parade and review. The first Monday in May was from time immemorial one of these "training days." It was a public holiday and was looked forward to by every school boy all the rest of the year with joyful anticipation. Not only for school boys but for the entire population it was a day of jubilee. Rural swains and maidens in their best attire swarmed in the streets and over the Green, and settled down for the day on the steps of the churches. Oyster booths lined the borders of the upper Green, and itinerant youths wandered to and fro bearing trays laden with tawny-colored twisted strings of molasses candy, highly tempting to the juvenile and bucolic appetite. Groups of boys of all sizes and colors obstructed the paths, pitching pennies or shooting at cents with a bow and arrow, while their parents and guardians were patronizing more genteel gambling devices arranged on the top of a barrel or in some neighboring booth. The strains of martial music were continually in the ear and the incessant popping of pistols and fire-crackers filled the air with din and a smoky haze.

The military exercises of the day commenced and ended on the Green. The uniformed companies had by custom their regular places of assembling as follows: The Grays in front of Trinity Church; the Foot Guards under the trees parallel with Chapel street; the artillery company, or Blues, opposite the jail, now the City Hall; the Horse Guards at the north end of the Green near Elm street. The Grays, Foot Guards and Blues had each its own company band containing serpents, bassoons and Turkish bells, and the melody of their music was not always commensurate with its volume. The feature of the day, which, as it is now obsolete, and will probably never be revived,

possesses historical interest, was the parading of the non-uniformed militia—the successors in unbroken line of the ancient train bands which from the earliest times had drilled on the market place. Let us recall one of these unique performances as they were seen on the Green fifty years ago.

At seven o'clock in the morning the beat of the drum resounded over the Green, and in response to the summons throngs of men in every variety of motley garb, military, civil and uncivil, each bearing his own or a borrowed musket, were seen wending their way towards the appointed rendezvous. There they collected in two separate companies popularly known as the "Uptown" and "Downtown milish," of which the former always mustered in front of the North Church, and the latter at the corner of Church and Chapel streets, near the pump. There was no rivalry between the companies except a rivalry to extract the greatest amount of frolic out of the day, and as they chose their own officers they were careful to elect such as would intentionally or unintentionally promote that laudable ambition. One of these chieftains was a pompous little son of Erin, who immediately on his election invested all his available capital in a complete captain's uniform, which then included a sash and epaulets, a long curved sword and an immense half-moon chapeau surmounted by a lofty red-tipped plume. Arrayed in this magnificent attire, he endeavored on the morning of training day to maneuver his company according to his own extremely limited knowledge of tactics, and as the first step toward orderly arrangement to form his men into line. Accordingly with a swing of his ponderous sabre over his head, he shouted the command, "Attention company! Get into a row!" With prompt obedience a row was at once commenced which the captain in vain attempted to allay by the explanation that he wanted the company "to do what the Blues were doing." At length by a series of similar appeals the company was arranged in the semblance of a column and received the order to march. As no

particular time was specified the company selected the double quick and made an impetuous rush which took the little warrior off his feet and carried him along the street in the midst of his own men, his sanguineous plume and wildly-waved sword alone being visible in the melee. The line of march, about which the commander was very little consulted, embraced numerous halting places for refreshments, so that by the time the company returned to the Green both officers and men were in a condition quite unfavorable for a successful drill in the manual of arms. The display was nevertheless attempted in the presence of an admiring crowd, and the doughty captain having got his men "into a row" gave the first order which came into his head, which happened to be "Charge bayonets!" The next moment he was running for his life before a bristling line of steel which followed him closely across the Green and up the Tontine steps into the hotel, where the pursuit was checked by an appropriate order, which the captain happily remembered just in time and issued to the barkeeper. The last exercise of training day was company and platoon firing on the Green by all the troops. Sometimes a sham fight would be had, the contending forces being drawn up on opposite sides of the Green. On such occasions the intervening space was carefully avoided by prudent spectators on account of stray ramrods which now and then went singing through the smoke half way across the field of battle.

These farcical attempts to educate the people in the military art by compulsion had been abandoned several years prior to 1861; and for the decade before that eventful year, although some slight recognition was given by law to the uniformed companies, yet these maintained their organization chiefly through the personal zeal and public spirit of their members. During the whole of that period threatening clouds had been gathering in the political sky, but though they grew continually darker, and the rumblings of secession sounded louder and louder along the southern

horizon, men generally believed that these portents would pass away without a storm. But after the Presidential election of 1860 the tempest swept together like the rush of a cyclone and suddenly, from the midst of it, like an awful thunderclap, the roar of the guns fired at Fort Sumter shook the firmament and started the whole nation to its feet with the universal cry, "To arms!" Before the echoes of that peal had rolled across New Haven Green, out flew Old Glory from the peak of the flagstaff and from the topmost spire of Center Church, and forthwith, as if by a magic signal, every blade of grass beneath seemed transformed into a soldier! From workshop and counter, from office and study and farm, came those who had often turned the Green, as a military parade ground, into a mere field of frolic, but who now, inspired with patriotic zeal, marched to and fro in squads over its surface from morn till dewy eve, assiduous to learn the duties of the soldier. Officers and privates of uniformed companies who had been for years faithfully practicing military tactics, with little public support, and under a certain degree of public ridicule, were urgently besought to take positions of instruction and command. Even small boys in the Russell Military School were called from their desks and were daily seen on the Green with strident steps and piping voices marshaling and drilling their several squads of stalwart men. Fort Sumter fell on the 14th day of April, 1861, and on the 10th of May the Second Regiment of Connecticut Volunteers, fully armed and equipped, paraded on the lower Green, departing for the seat of war. At the right of the line stood the New Haven Grays in full ranks and in their company uniform, and in front rode Col. Alfred H. Terry in command of the regiment. I will not linger over the details of that solemn and memorable scene: the speeches, the prayers, the blessings and the tears which marked it will never fade from the memories of the past and will forever hallow the ground with which they are associated. The public ceremonies are over; the colors have been presented

and the benediction pronounced; the line forms into column; the command is given to march; the band strikes up "The Star Spangled Banner," and in step with those inspiring strains the regiment, amid its following of cheering citizens, crying women and clinging little children, passes through the south gate of the Green, New Haven's first great offering on that sacred altar which was afterwards to receive so many!

NOTES TO PAPER No. IV.

NOTE 1 (page 118).

This paper was read February 24, 1896, when there was serious apprehension of war with Great Britain over the Venezuelan question. That danger happily disappeared, but while this book is in press the war with Spain is furnishing a melancholy answer to the hopes expressed in the latter part of the paragraph to which this note is appended.

NOTE 2 (page 122).

A list of property belonging to the town in 1657 enumerates "3 great gunnes at the water side upon shipp carriages" and "3 more of the greater cise in the market place upon field carriages." The shot and powder for these guns was kept in "the Prison Chamber." It seems to have been the practice to keep cannon on the market place until 1748, and probably later. Three are shown on the Green in Wadsworth's map of that date.

NOTE 3 (page 131).

And now (August, 1898) thousands of fever-stricken, hunger-wasted soldiers are being brought back from those same pestilential shores of Cuba, victims of the reckless folly of Congress, which precipitated war with Spain without previous preparation and in the height of a tropical summer. A series of miracles and the valor of the "men behind the guns" in navy and army brought the campaign to a successful close just as it was about to collapse in ignominious and disastrous failure. Had our opponent been any other European power than feeble and bankrupt Spain, we should now be anxiously considering how to protect our own seaboard towns from destruction, instead of discussing how much territory we shall hold, and seize, to pay us for our disinterested efforts in the cause of humanity.

NOTE 4 (page 138).

President Stiles' Diary under date of June 27, 1781, says: "Lauzun's Legion of Colonial troops, 300 horse and 300 foot commanded by the Duke de Lauzun, passed through town on its way to Washington's Army and encamped one night in the new town one mile east of the College." It resumed its march early the next morning and as it was going to New Jersey probably took the Litchfield road, and if so, doubtless crossed the Green diagonally from the corner of Church and Chapel to the corner of Elm and College streets. President Stiles says he called upon the Duke, who was the guest of Gen. Wooster, whose house is still standing on Wooster street. It was then beautifully situated, with large grounds about it and an open view of the harbor in front.

THE GREEN AS THE SEAT OF JUDICIAL TRIBUNALS.

The judicial history of New Haven for the first eighteen months after its settlement is, like its civil, religious and military history, an utter blank. As to what laws prevailed, by whom and how they were administered and with what effect on public order and morals, scarcely a fragment of record or tradition remains to inform us, and we know hardly more about it than we do about the laws and magistrates of the antediluvians. We are simply told that on the first day of extraordinary humiliation which the free planters had after they came together, there was a solemn covenant made "that in all publique offices which concerne civil order they would be governed by the rules which Scripture holds forth;" and it is also recorded that a year and a half later, after the principles of the proposed permanent government were agreed upon, "all former power and trust for managing any publique affairs in this plantation into whose hands soever formerly committed was now abrogated and from henceforward utterly to cease." On the same day new magistrates were duly chosen. It was also agreed that there should be a yearly election of magistrates thereafter in October, and that "the word of God shall be the only rule to be attended to in ordering the affayres of government in this plantation."

Organization of the Courts.

In the theocratic system thus established the modern plan of keeping the executive, legislative and judicial departments distinct from each other was conspicuous by its absence. All the powers and functions of government were inextricably intermingled and promiscuously exercised by various assemblies called "courts." When the

whole body of freemen met in town meeting it was called "the General Court," whose principal province it was to make laws, levy taxes and choose magistrates; yet its first act was to hold a trial for murder. There was also the "Particular Court," or "Plantation Court," consisting of the governor and four assistants with a clerk and marshal, which, as Mr. Levermore says, "took cognizance of any matters which seemed to Magistrate Eaton suitable for immediate decision without reference to the general court or whole body of freemen. It sent malefactors to the whipping post. It registered wills and administered estates, decided civil suits and granted divorces. It also established and regulated the watch and military affairs, and created new town officers as occasion required."

In 1643, after the plantation had expanded into a colony, the jurisdiction of the plantation court was limited to civil causes in which the matter in demand did not exceed £20, and to those criminal matters in which a punishment not greater than stocking or whipping, or a fine of £5, was prescribed by the laws of Moses and other parts of Scripture. Its sessions were held monthly and it was sometimes called "the monthly court." There was also established a colonial court for cases of greater magnitude and for preparing appeals from the plantation court. This court was composed of the governor and magistrates from each town in the colony, and met at New Haven in April and October. In addition to its judicial functions it made laws as a colonial legislature, managed external affairs and levied taxes throughout the colony.

The Laws of God the Only Code.

The legal code which these early courts expounded and enforced was about as vague and elastic as the jurisdiction of the courts themselves. It was concisely summed up in the records as "the judicial laws of God as they were delivered by Moses and expounded in other parts of Scrip-

ture, so farre as they are a fence to the morall law and not tipicall nor having reference to Canaan." To this general code must also be added such special local ordinances as were from time to time enacted by the general and plantation courts. In practical administration the scope of the criminal law was extended to cover not only the scriptural code of morals as interpreted by the magistrates, but minute infractions of decorum according to the same authority, and even scraps of private conversation, which might be deemed not entirely agreeable to the divine ear, were dragged to light as subjects for trial and punishment. In 1656, a digest of the colonial code was prepared by Gov. Eaton, and printed with copious and convincing citations of Scripture authority in the margin; but this reduction to written form made very little difference in the latitude of jurisdiction assumed by the court. It has been shown by papers read before this Society that, taking the printed code and the judicial decisions under it as the laws of the colony, most of the allegations of Peters respecting the so-called Blue Laws were founded in truth. It should be added, however, that some of the most extreme features of the code were never enforced, and that even these and also most of the others accorded with the current legislation of the age, not only in the other colonies, but also in England.* Dr. Bacon truly remarks that the New Haven code as a whole was superior for humanity and justice to the civil and criminal laws of England, not only at that time but for a hundred years later.

The methods of procedure which prevailed in the early courts were simple and effective. The presiding magistrates were prosecuting officer, judge and jury all combined. There was but one rule of evidence and that was to admit everything that was offered by witnesses and bystanders in the nature of facts, hearsay and guesses, and to screw as much more out of the parties to their own disadvantage as possible. In criminal trials the court never allowed

* See Note 1 at the end of this Paper.

itself to be embarrassed by any presumption of innocence and it by no means believed in the maxim that it is better that ten guilty men escape than that one innocent person should suffer. Occasionally in civil causes the parties were allowed to appear by attorney, but in criminal cases no such interference was tolerated. Apparently some innovator had prior to 1667 attempted thus to obstruct the course of justice, for in that year it was enacted by the General Assembly of Connecticut that "what person or persons soever shall take the boldness to themselves to plead or speak in behalf of any person upon examination or trial for delinquency, except he shall speak directly to matter of law and with leave of the authority present, he shall pay ten shillings to the public treasurer as a fine or sit in the stocks one hour for every offence." Under such discouraging enactments a flourishing bar could hardly be expected. In fact, our ancestors for the first hundred years seem to have had much the same opinion of the legal profession as Peter the Great, who, after a visit to the courts at Westminster Hall, thanked God that there was but one lawyer in his dominions and declared that he would hang him as soon as he got home.

The Successive Court Houses.

Before illustrating the proceedings of the early New Haven courts by citations from the records, let us locate the several places on the Green where at different periods of its history judicial tribunals have held their sessions. With regard to this point the records from 1639 to 1718 give us little or no information. The trial of Nepaupuck for murder in October, 1639, was preceded by an examination before the magistrates which, from an allusion in the records to "the mantelpiece of the chimney," is believed to have been held in Gov. Eaton's house, but where his trial was held, and also subsequent trials before the General Court, there are no means to determine. After the meeting-

house was built it is supposed that the courts and all other public assemblies convened within its walls, but the only evidence of that fact as respects the courts is derived from the report of a civil trial held in 1659, where we are told that "the season being cold the court removed to a private house," and that it afterwards "returned to the meeting-house." This is the only hint to be found respecting the place or building used by the courts until action was taken for the erection of the first Court and State House in 1719. It is true that four years prior to this date the General Assembly ordered the accession of George I. to be proclaimed "in the great square in front of the court house," but probably that designation was applied to the meeting-house as the place where the General Assembly, or "General Court," was then holding its session. As suggested in a previous paper, it is not unlikely that the original watch-house was used as a court house by the County Court after 1665, and that it is shown in the Brown and Wadsworth maps under the name of "the County House" attached to the Court House of 1719.

However, this may be, in January, 1719, according to our present mode of reckoning, an order was made by the County Court for the erection of a "timber house for his Majesty's service, 45 feet in length and 22 feet in breadth, two stories high with chimneys at each end, provided the town of New Haven provide a suitable piece of land to set it upon." A month later a town meeting granted a half a quarter of an acre of land in the market place for the proposed building "adjoining the old prison-house," that is to say near the corner of College and Elm streets. The building was completed sometime in 1720 and was thereafter occupied as a court and state house until 1763. In that year the second Court and State House was built by the county on the line of Temple street near the present site of Trinity Church. This building, whose appearance is familiar to us through numerous pictures, was of brick in the colonial style, having the court rooms

and town hall on the lower floor and rooms above for the General Assembly. The cost of the building was borne by the colony and the county jointly, but in December, 1768, a town meeting, in a burst of generosity, voted that "in consideration of the use the town would have of the building it would pay one quarter of the expense of the stone steps, front and rear." Certainly the town was justified in the end for this lavish expenditure, for in this building the political, civil, judicial and social life of New Haven centered through nearly three generations embracing the most remarkable and stirring period of its history. Here were held the town and public meetings connected with the old French war, in opposition to the stamp act, in the preparation and progress of the Revolution, with the decline of the old confederation, the inauguration of the present federal government, and all others through the many stormy years of political and party strife which followed thereafter. Here the infant city first saw the light, and here for more than sixty years were celebrated by public meetings, banquets and balls, the victories of war, the return of peace, the triumphs of parties, and the festivities of commencement seasons, Fourth of July and other public anniversaries and occasions. Here the state legislatures convened, and all the courts, both federal and state, sat, and here the New Haven bar developed from infancy to vigorous prime. It may be interesting to add that a part of the foundation wall and steps of this ancient building are still preserved in the foundation wall and steps of the dwelling house No. 644 on State street.

When after 1818, a state constitution had superseded the ancient colonial charter and the stocks and the whipping post with other colonial relics and usages had passed away, the Colonial State House was deemed too narrow and old-fashioned for the new order of things, and it was torn down in 1828. Most of the materials were used in the erection of its successor, and during the building of the latter the courts sat for three years in the basement of the

Methodist Church on the Green, near the corner of College and Elm streets. At last, in 1831, there was seen upon the Green, fully completed, that stately and classic temple of graceful proportions which we all remember so well and admired so much both in the light of day, when it appeared like a battered veteran abundantly scarred but imperfectly plastered, or when, bathed in the radiance of the lunar rays, it gleamed with the mild effulgence "of an ancient mackerel by moonlight." As the home of this Society, free of rent for several years, the late lamented, though lost to sight, is still to memory dear, and however convinced we may be that the Green is the better off for its having left it, we recall with tender emotion the many virtues which pleaded trumpet-tongued against the deep damnation of its taking off. It was occupied by the courts till December, 1862, when the new City Hall on Church street having been completed, judicial tribunals took their final departure from the Green, which had been their abiding place for two centuries and a quarter.

Proceedings of the Early Courts.

If the early records are meagre in their information about court accommodations, they are not open to this charge as regards their reports of the judicial proceedings. These are all detailed with a particularity which not only furnishes a clear and picturesque view of the way in which justice was dispensed, and sometimes dispensed with, in the primitive days of the colony, but also gives us a distinct impression of the social and moral atmosphere of the time. As already stated, the only rule by which the courts were governed was to do substantial justice according to the will of God as interpreted by the magistrates, and this applied as well in civil as in criminal law. Thus in the settlement of estates, the courts did not hesitate to set aside a will if they thought it unjust, as in the case of Hinde's estate in 1653, where the testator had left everything to his

wife, and she being about to marry again, refused to make provision for the children. "The Court wished her to consider whether, if her husband had given all to the children, she could not have been relieved? Men may not make wills as they will themselves, but must attend the mind of God in doing the same." Gov. Eaton was regarded as specially expert in discerning and expounding the divine will in judicial questions, and the clerk takes evident pride in spreading his edifying discourses on the records. When James Heyward was complained of for being drunk, "the governor declared to him how greatly his sinne was aggravated with many circumstances, but especially that he being a member of the church with whom the Lord had dealt so kindly with, and he so to requite the Lord was a sinfull, foolish thing: oh foolish people and unwise doe you so requite the Lord." The culprit prudently acknowledged the enormity of his offense and "justified the court in whatever God might incline their hearts unto." This soft answer considerably mollified the governor, so that he summed up the case as follows: "Drunkenness is among the fruits of the flesh both to be witnessed against in the church and in the civil court, and it is a brutish sinne and to be witnessed against: a whip for the horse, a bridle for the asse and a rod for the foole's back. But it has not been brought to me that this man hath been given to drunkenness, and I leave it therefore with the court whether they shall find a disposition to drunkenness or an act only." Upon this hint the court promptly found that the defendant had got drunk against his inclinations and that it was not a case for the whip nor the rod but the bridle. They therefore decided "not to punish it with corporal punishment but by a fine only," thus judicially declaring Mr. Heyward to be an ass, much to his relief and satisfaction.

A more vigorous lecture was addressed in 1659 by Governor Newman to William East, another church member, whose chronic inebriety could not be reconciled with

a want of disposition. He was told that "the gross miscarriages by him committed that he should make his house a house of drunkenness and rise up against authority as he had done, showed that he was a man fallen from God and from the profession which he had formerly made more than in an ordinary manner, and now to goe on to add sinne to sinne it was an amazing thing to consider off as if he were an atheist and without God in the world, and that he carries it as one given up of God to satisfie his severall appetites and had thereby caused the name of God to be blasphemed: shall such wickedness be suffered and is there no balm in Gilead or as we may say no meanes to prevent it? It is an amazing thing that he should doe thus wickedly in a land of uprightness and not behold the majesty of ye Lord." After much more to the same effect, the court applied the balm of Gilead in the shape of a fine of £50, with the threat that if he were found drunk again he would be anointed with a more pungent form of ointment at the whipping post. He was then dismissed with the encouraging remark by the court that "he goes under the divell in the state he stands in."

Troubles from Temperance Legislation.

The sale of intoxicating liquors in New Haven Colony under a license system was as prolific of business for the courts, including some burning questions of law, as at present. One such case was that of Robert Bassett, the town drummer, who was licensed to sell liquors in quantities not less than three quarts, the intention being to prevent his retailing it to be drunk on the premises. A jolly party of sailors visited his house one evening and called for "sacke." Bassett, with literal adherence to the terms of his license, supplied them with three full quarts, and when that was gone furnished three quarts more, and so on "in severall parcells, three quarts at a time." The direful consequences are thus described in the records of the court:

“Some of the company dranke to excess and distemper and broke into quarrelling and other miscarriages. The owner of the pinnace in their cupps calling the boatswaine of the Susan, Brother Loggerhead, the boatswaine returns threatening language, thence they grew to sideing, part-taking and challenging, then the master of the pinnace and the boatswaine, going out of ye house, fall first to wrestling, then to blowes and therein grew to that fierceness that ye master of the pinnace thought that ye boatswaine would have pulled out his eies, and in their rage and distemper they tumbled on ye ground, down ye hill into ye creeke and ye mire, shamfully wallowing therein. Then Charles Higenson, distempered as it seems with drinke, in a way of sideing with the boatswaine, grew quarrelsome, wherewith the owner of the pinnace being affrighted, ran aboute ye street crying ‘Hoe, the watch! hoe, the watch!’ and the boatswaine fell a swearing wounds and hart as if he were not only angry with men but would provoake the high and blessed God.” The turmoil brought the watch to the scene, who parted the combatants and they returned to Robert Bassett’s house, where the irate boatswain recommenced the fray, “and thereby frightened Robert Bassett’s wife and child, so that Bassett thrust them out of doors with violence and terrible threats, so that the disorder was very great and very offensive both to ye neighbors, the noyse and oathes being heard to the other side of the creeks, and to others coming thither, and Robert Bassett confessed that he had not heard the like since he came to this place.” (It must be remembered that Yale College was not established in New Haven till two generations later.)

The court was greatly scandalized at the affair, especially at Bassett’s construction of his license, declaring that “it was a perverse interpretation of the order forcing men to drink more than they desired, whereas he should have drawn nothing at all in that waye.” He was therefore mulcted in a heavy penalty as the responsible cause of the disturbance, but the sailors being new-comers to the town

and persons of low breeding, weak intelligence and feeble moral sense, were let off with a censure and the light fines which are usually imposed on college students and such like characters in similar cases.

The Early Sabbath Laws.

In the laws relating to Sabbath observance the Puritan sentiment was most strongly entrenched, and prosecutions under these were perhaps the most numerous of any. By Governor Eaton's Code, Sabbath-breaking, "if proudly, presumptuously and with a high hand committed against the known command and authority of the blessed God," was punishable with death, but it is not known that this extreme penalty was ever enforced. The cases were numerous, however, where fines were imposed, and even corporal punishment was in one case inflicted for non-attendance or lateness at meeting, and excuses were rarely received. In 1643 William Blayden, "charged with late cumming 2 Lords dayes, pleaded that the first time he heard not the drume, and thother day he having got wet the day before in the evening it rayninge and he not able to make a fier to dry his clothes, was forced to lye abedd the Lord's days. But the truth appearing to be no other than a prophane neglecting, yea dispising the ordynances of Christ through sloathfulnesse, the judgement of the court was that he be publicly whipped as he is the first profanely breaking the Sabbath, worshipping not God nor waytinge for a blessing from him on himself." In 1647 the masters of two vessels in the harbor were called before the court to answer for working on the Sabbath on board their respective vessels. They replied that the vessels were in sudden peril and the labor became necessary, but were told that "they ought to have provided beforehand so that nothing should disturb them on the Sabbath." It appeared that with respect to one of the vessels, Mr. Davenport had been consulted and had advised that "the issue be left to God's Providence,"

but that notwithstanding this high authority in favor of salvation by faith in the case of ships, the master had trusted to works as the more orthodox course in practical seamanship. After due deliberation, the court "considering the persons that they are strangers and thinking that they did not do it out of contempt but ignorantly, they agreed for this time (they acknowledging their failings and promising amendment for time to come) to passe it by, but if any of our owne take libbertie hereby the sentence will be heavier on them." The penitent mariners were careful, before another Sunday, to put themselves beyond the jurisdiction of the court and doubtless thereafter noted on their charts that New Haven harbor and New Haven Green were places equally dangerous to navigators.

It is often said that the New England Sabbath ended at sundown on Sunday evening, but this was certainly neither the usage nor the law of New Haven. The Lord's day evening was included by the ordinances in "holy time" and any peccadillo then committed was punished with additional severity. William Pert, who "took a couple of watermillions out of Mr. Hooke's lot on Sunday evening, 'was' publicly whipped for doing it so soon after the Sabbath." In 1659 an ordinance was passed forbidding young people or children to walk or play in the streets on Sunday evening, for the reason that such recreation "was very prejudicial to the good of their souls, that being Satan's opportunity to steal the Word out of their hearts," and the marshal was directed to summon such offenders before the court. Satan himself could hardly have devised a more effectual way to steal the word out of young people's hearts than such an interference with their customary Sunday evening courtships, and all right-minded persons will sympathize with unfortunate Sam Clarke, who was brought into court under this law, charged with "hankering about men's gates the evening after the Sabbath to draw out company to him." Sam "confessed that he did sometimes go out in the evening after the Sabbath, but withal

said that he went upon business." Being asked "what business he had when he was hankering at Roger Alling's gate," he replied that he "remembered not." This sudden failure of memory on Sam's part evidently awakened sympathetic recollections in the breasts of the magistrates, who pressed their inquiries no farther but postponed the case, with a solemn warning to Sam to consider "what the Scripture saith, that he who being often reprov'd hardeneth his neck shall suddenly be cut off and that without a remedy." As nothing more is heard of Sam's case, let us hope that on subsequent Sunday evenings, instead of being left to hanker about Roger Alling's gate, he came to anchor inside the house, and did not forget the business he came on.

Judicial Suppression of Criticisms.

The sanctity with which the Sunday laws were invested as ordinances of God, was extended for the same reason to the rest of the Scripture code, and logically to the divine representative, the State, which proclaimed and enforced them. In 1646 Thomas Blatchley was forced to apologize "for giving the court some offence, and neglecting the imadge of God in the magistrates." "Bamfield Bell being reprov'd by William Paine for singing profane songs, answered and said: You are one of the holy brethren who will lye for advantage. Mr. Evans testified that it was his constant frame to reproach those who walked in the wayes of God. The premises being considered, the centence of the court was that he be severely whipped." Criticisms of the higher powers whether the magistrates, the minister or the church, however privately expressed, were ferreted out and punished. An important case of this kind which is reported at great length in the records occurred in 1646. The defendants were three ladies of excellent social position, Mrs. Brewster, Mrs. Moore and Mrs. Leach, and they were charged with "severall miscarriages of a publique

nature." These public miscarriages consisted of remarks in a private conversation behind closed doors in Mrs. Leach's house, partly overheard by two servants of Mrs. Leach by assiduous listening at the keyhole. These two servants, whose character the record shows to have been notoriously bad, were the sole witnesses to the fact; they also admitted that they had heard some parts of the conversation imperfectly, and were not quite clear in their recollection as to others.

Mrs. Brewster, as the principal culprit, was put on trial first. The charges against her were twelve in number, of which the first two related to criticisms of Mr. Davenport's doctrinal views. "Job and Elizabeth both affirme that Mrs. Brewster, speaking of a passage in Mr. Davenport's sermon, said 'Mr. Davenport makes the people believe that to come into the church is as much as the receiving of Christ.'" And again "Job and Elizabeth affirme that Mrs. Brewster, speaking of something Mr. Davenport had delivered upon Ephes. iv, 12, said that it made her sermon sicke and that when she came home she badde her son make waste paper of it, which she said Elizabeth conceiveth was spoken of his noats of Mr. Davenport's sermon." The other charges, which were all supported by the testimony of Job and Elizabeth, were that Mrs. Brewster, in the same conversation, had referred to the method of giving in the weekly contributions by going forward, as too much "like going up to the altar in masse;" that she criticised the proceedings of the church in Mrs. Eaton's case and in some other cases, and had spoken disparagingly of church membership. Also that she had consorted with some excommunicated persons and had on one occasion drank out of the same cup with one of them, and that she had expressed pity for some convicts as having been "cruelly whipped." A supplementary count added by the magistrates charged that since the proceedings against her were commenced she had rated the virtuous Job and Elizabeth soundly for their eaves-dropping and tale-bearing with expressions

more commendable for their truth than their elegance. The court impugned such language as "uncomely and sinful," citing the parallel case of "Michael the Arcangell, who durst not carry it so with the Divell though he had matter enough against him."

Mrs. Brewster defended herself with spirit, denying some parts of the language charged and explaining others, and altogether held her ground so well that the magistrates became somewhat disconcerted. Hoping to weaken her by a flank attack, the court suddenly sprung a new charge against her, to wit, that she had retailed wine to several persons in smaller quantities than her license authorized. To this she retorted that three members of the court had been among her customers in the sales referred to, and that she "hoped they had not been laying snares for her." The inculpated magistrates squirmed vigorously at this home-thrust, and after some very lame attempts at explanation on their part the court dropped that subject of inquiry.

In the case against Mrs. Moore, who was next arraigned, the pious and orthodox Job was again the leading witness. He testified that Mrs. Moore had, in family prayers, in opposition to Mr. Davenport's sermon as he (Job) conceiveth, spoken of "pastors and teachers since Christ ascended to heaven as being but the inventions of men." Also that in the talk with Mrs. Brewster he had overheard her say, "A vayle is before the eyes of ministers and people and till that is taken away they cannot be turned to the Lord." These heinous charges were confirmed by Elizabeth in substance, "though she remembered not all the particulars." Thomas Kimberley took the stand as a volunteer witness and recounted a lengthy argument which he had had with Mrs. Moore, in which she maintained with numerous citations of Scriptures "that the Angels of the Seven Churches of Asia were sperits, not men." Mr. Kimberley replied that "there were two sorts of angells, some sperits, some in the flesh, but Mrs. Moore, said he, pished at it."

At this point the governor could restrain himself no longer, but sailed in with a lucid refutation of Mrs. Moore's heretical views. He fully supported Mr. Kimberley's statement respecting the biology of angels and clearly demonstrated that pastors and teachers of the church in New Haven were as genuine a species of angels as any other. Having demolished Mrs. Moore's false theories with much learning and eloquence, he closed his remarks by a practical application, warning her that "it was not to be suffered that she should blaspheme and revyle the holy ordynances of Christ and the people of God and by spreading her errors, corrupt and disturb the people of this place."

Mrs. Leach's turn came next, "being charged that, upon a question or conference about joyning with this church, she had said to Mrs. Brewster that she sometime had a mynd to join but now declined it because she found so many untruthes among them." She boldly admitted the truth of the charge and justified the remark by reference to the numerous church scandals which had occasioned it. The governor, however, told her that these "were a cleare evidence of the church's integryty, and that upon such a ground any might have declyned Christ's famyly because there was a theife, a divell in it, and might have reproached the primitive pure church at Jerusalem because Ananias and Sapphira were punished for lying." To all which Mrs. Leach "neither excused nor replied, but spoke uncomely for her sex and her age, soe that her carriage offended the whole court."

In conclusion, the defendants were all found guilty, and "upon consideration of the nature and weight of the offences" were bound over for trial before a higher court. What became of the case is unknown, as the next volume of the records has long been lost. It is probable that heavy fines were imposed upon all the defendants, for Mrs. Brewster soon afterwards married a Mr. Pell, and the later records disclose that for several years Mr. Pell was being regularly nagged and dunned by the court for the amount

of a fine which had been imposed upon his wife before her marriage. It is satisfactory to add that Mr. Pell pertinaciously evaded its payment and apparently with success.

Prosecutions of Quakers.

This jealous intolerance of any reflections upon the magistrates, the ministers or the church was not founded exclusively in religious bigotry, but was, in part, political in its nature; such criticisms being regarded as seditious opposition to the theocratic institutions of the state. Hence the laws against "Quakers and other Herreticks," which were passed in 1658, and which were borrowed from Massachusetts Bay, where a similar form of government prevailed, are to be regarded not so much as an outbreak of religious persecution as the desperate defence of a tottering civil order. Nowhere do the early New Haven courts appear so disadvantageously as in those trials where this politico-religious fanaticism was stirred into action. The case against Richard Crabbe, of Stamford, affords a painful illustration. Crabbe and his wife were charged with "clamorous and reproachful speeches against the government and the ministry and officers and for neglecting the meetings for sanctification of the Saboth." They had been suspected of sympathizing with the Quakers, and when officers broke into their house in an unsuccessful search for Quaker books, Crabbe's wife in a fit of hysterical excitement had bitterly reproached the laws and the magistrates which authorized such proceedings. There was not a particle of proof against Crabbe personally, and he not only denied having reviled the government or the ministers, but on being catechised by the court as to his views on the Sabbath, they seemed to be orthodox. He admitted that his wife (who was not present in court on account of illness) had used opprobrious language to the officers, but said he could not prevent it. He was told that "if his wife speake

such words and he countenance her in it, he must answer it." Crabbe, who bore himself throughout with great dignity and patience, then asked permission to say a few words concerning his wife, "not as he said that he would justify her in any evill, but to acquaint the court with something concerning her. The woman, said he, was a well bred woman in England, a zealous professour from her childhood, almost beyond example, but when she is suddenly surprized she hath not power to restrane her passions." To this the governor replied, "that what he said did greatly aggravate her miscarriages, for if she had been a great professour it was certain she had been an ill-practiser in which you have countenanced her and borne her up which may be accounted yours, reviling Mr. Bishop as a priest of Baal and ye members as liars and that Mr. Bishop preached for filthy lucre." He was told "to consider his way how yt after a greate profession made he had now been for a long time a neglecter of ye ordinances, a reproacher of ye ministry and his wife also whom he hath not reprov'd, that their case seems scarce to be paralleled in these times, that he having such light and his wife such an one as he described her to be should fall into such abominable courses to rail upon the ministers, calling them Baal's priests, etc., and the people of God, calling them traitors, liars, villains, etc., neglecting the ordinances and the Sabbaths and yt every ordinary eye may see marks of apostasy in them." The court being now out of breath "inquired whether he had anything more to say, to which he replied the Lord help him but farther said not." He was found guilty and fined thirty pounds. He was also required "to give a bond of one hundred pounds for his good behavior and to make a publique acknowledg'ment at Stamford of the offences" which he denied having committed, and which certainly had not been proved against him.

As Crabbe was not convicted of Quakerism or heresy but only of his wife's censorious language toward government officials, his case does not form one of the prosecutions

under the anti-Quaker law. These prosecutions were four in number. The case of Humphrey Norton, who was whipped on New Haven Green in 1658, was referred to in a former paper. The only other Quaker who was whipped in New Haven Colony was Arthur Smith, who was brought from Southold in 1659, charged with expressing the following "dangerous and corrupt opinions, to wit, 'that there was no divell; that the seven churches of Asia were seven vials, that the three friends of Job were the three persons of the Trinity; and that infants were not charged with Adam's sin till they sinned personally.'" Being required to answer concerning these appalling propositions, the "court found his answers to be both prophane, absurd, conceited and ridiculous" and he was ordered to be whipped and also to give a bond of fifty pounds or quit the jurisdiction. In 1661 John Bud of Southold was fined five pounds for censuring the persecution of Quakers, and commending that sect as "an honest and godly people." The only other case was that of Edward Barnes, a mariner, charged with being a Quaker, who was merely required to remain on board his ship while she staid in port. These four cases of Norton, Smith, Bud and Barnes make up the total of Quaker prosecutions in New Haven Colony.

Witchcraft Trials.

In its dealings with witchcraft, the court appears in a more creditable light than in heresy trials. The only person ever tried in New Haven Colony for witchcraft was Mrs. Goodman, who had herself initiated the proceedings by charging some of her neighbors with slanderously calling her a witch. As this trial was reviewed in a former paper it will not be enlarged upon. All things considered, the court showed a conservatism which was unusual in such trials at that period, and though the defendant was imprisoned for a few days, and warned that there was grave

cause for suspicion against her, she was in the end only required to find sureties for her good conduct. There were but two other cases before the court in which the question of witchcraft was involved, both of them, like that of Mrs. Goodman, actions for slander. Of these one was brought in 1658 against Roger Ludlow by Thomas Staples of Fairfield, who charged Ludlow with defamation in calling his wife a witch. After a long hearing the court "saw no cause to lay any blame as a witch on Goodwife Staples and judged that Mr. Ludlow had done her wrong" and awarded ten pounds damages to the plaintiff with costs of suit.

The other case was one of more tragic interest. William Meeker charged Thomas Mulliner with defamation in saying that he had bewitched Mulliner's pigs. It appeared that several of Mulliner's pigs had died in a strange way, and when the last remaining animal was taken sick he resolved to investigate the nature of its ailment. In this spirit of inquiry he brought the languishing porker to a fire and having cut off its ears and tail consigned them to the flames. As this soothing remedy failed to restore the pig to its wonted cheerfulness, he gently lifted the remainder of the patient and put that on the fire also. Strange to say, so far from accepting thankfully these kind measures of relief, as a pig mentally well-balanced might be expected to do, the creature vociferously expostulated and concluded by shuffling off its mortal coil in a spiteful mood and disagreeable manner. This unreasonable, not to say hoggish conduct on the part of the brute afforded clear proof to Mr. Mulliner's mind that the pigs had all been bewitched, and that William Meeker, with whom he had had a quarrel, was somehow concerned in it. On the trial of the case, however, he failed to convince the court to that effect, and he was ordered to give bonds that he would cut short all crooked tales to Goodman Meeker's discredit.

Slander Suits.

The number of slander suits which were evolved in the small and select community of New Haven out of neighborhood quarrels and scandals was quite noteworthy and leads to the conclusion that they were the chief reliance for social entertainment, in the absence of more wholesome amusements. Our ancestors, not having the inestimable privilege of newspapers to wash the dirty linen of society in public, were forced to depend on the courts for that service, and there is every reason to believe that the operation afforded as much popular enjoyment as it does at the present time. A case in the higher circles which doubtless attracted a large audience to the court room was that of Lancelot Fuller and wife against Francis Newman (afterwards governor) and wife. Mrs. Newman was charged with spreading scandalous insinuations against Mrs. Fuller, to the effect that she had invited young Mr. Stone to breakfast when her husband was absent. It appeared that the ladies had had several vivacious conferences about the matter before it came to court, and that the husbands had mixed in and aggravated the trouble. Mrs. Newman had proffered a qualified apology for her remarks, which Mrs. Fuller rejected as unsatisfactory. Mrs. Newman retorted that "then she must goe without satisfaction and she had best let the matter die lest it should bring out worse." Mr. Newman then interposed with a view, it was said, "to heale the business," and in pursuance of that laudable purpose "told Mrs. Fuller in a threteninge manner that she had once been brought into court for her tongue and that he would tame her tongue for he knew what it was." Mrs. Fuller denied that she had been brought into court for her tongue and said "she would scorn to goe up and down to carry lyes." Mr. Newman "asked if he had told any lyes about her; she said his wife had and that he and his wife were one." Rebecca Grigson

testified that "Mr. Newman told Mrs. Fuller to doe her worst, and she told him to doe his worst and that Mrs. Fuller was high but not so high as he." Mr. Fuller testified that it was himself and not his wife who invited Mr. Stone to breakfast, and in the end the court with great impartiality blamed all the parties to the quarrel, and read a lecture to each; "and for Mr. Newman the court found that he fell short of his duty in controlling his wife and in using exasperating language to Mrs. Fuller, and therefore thought fitt and ordered that Mr. Newman pay five pounds to Lancelot Fuller and his wife to reparaire her in point of injury."

A more moving "case of defamation" which came before the court in 1662 was that of Edmund Dorman against Jeremiah Johnson. The plaintiff informed the court that the defendant had reported at John Clarke's house "with sircumstances of scoffing" that he heard the plaintiff at prayer in a swamp pleading with the Lord to influence an obdurate damsel to accept his matrimonial advances. "Lord, thou knowest my necessity and canst supply it. Lord, bend and bow her will and make her sensible of my condition and submissable to me." The sympathetic court scolded Jeremiah roundly for treating poor Dorman's forlorn appeal with "sircumstances of scoffing" and reminded him that "it was a fearfull thing to come to that height of sinning as to sit in the seats of ye scorner."

Conjugal Quarrels.

Cases of matrimonial infelicity occasionally came before the courts and were generally disposed of by good advice to both parties. Occasionally the advice would be reinforced by persuasions of quite an urgent character.

"Ebenezer Brown and Hannah his wife having made many and grievous complaints against each other before ye authorities, the court heard both sides, and finding that both had gone on in a most abominable way, to the

dishonor of God and the scandall of ye Christian profession, ordered that sentence of corporall punishment be executed upon Ebenezer to-morrow at eight o'clock, and for Hannah the court finds that she also deserves corp'll punishment, yet at present suspend execution on her promise of better behavior, and only order that she stand by her husband while sentence is being executed upon him." If our modern courts were authorized to try similar methods of reconciliation between quarreling partners, divorces for incompatibility of temper would be far less frequent.

Penal Sentences.

In case of theft and wilful injury to property, not only was punishment inflicted on the offender, but he was required to indemnify the injured party. If he was not able to make restitution, he was liable to be sold for the purpose, and this fate was imposed in several instances, among them, that of a boy 12 years of age, and that of a little girl still younger, who had mischievously set fire to a barn. We read with less sympathy about George Wood, who was convicted of "stealing from his master and also lying, cursing himself, threatening to kill himself and others, mocking on his mistris, rebelling against his master and against ye authorities in this place, and this on the Sabbath daye after precious means enjoyed, with further lying and atheisticall miscarriages," and who was sentenced "to be set in ye pillory about ye space of one hour, and after that severely whipped, and then banished not to return under pain of death; but because Mr. Goodyear hath laide out some money for him and it is fitte that it should be repaide, the court gave fourteen days' time to sell him in any other colony; during which delay he is to lye in prison and in irons that so farther miscarriages may be prevented while he staves here."

It will be seen from these illustrations that our ancestors in their penal methods sought to prevent crime and to

protect society, by making the offenders bear the principal burden of their misdeeds, and not to throw it on the law-abiding part of society. It is the most pressing question of our criminal jurisprudence to-day whether a return to the common sense principles of our forefathers is not our first necessity, and whether the whipping post and the treadmill, with proper limitations as to privacy and moderation, are not more rational, effective and just as a mode of preventing crime, than the enormous and ever-enlarging hotels in which the vicious, the brutal and the lazy, are now entertained by the public, free of cost, in unaccustomed ease and abundance.

Even as reformatory agencies, these early instrumentalities, by the mere prospect of their application, would generally develop in culprits on trial a feeling of penitence for their misdoings which are quite unknown to the cheerful victims of our modern criminal courts. The confession of James Heywood in 1647 is but one illustration of contrite acknowledgments which were very common in those days, and which were often quite effective in mitigating the sentence of the court from whipping to a fine, to the mutual advantage of the convict and the public. "I owne my sinne and my shame and do confesse the name of God hath been dishonored and blasphemed through me for my sinne, with menny circumstances which makes it greivous, so that I have nothing to say but doe justify the proceedings of the court in what God shall guide their harts to." Imagine some old rounder before one of our city police courts, with the prospect of fifteen days in jail, including perhaps a Christmas dinner, addressing the court in language like that!

I have devoted so large a space to the judicial proceedings of the early New Haven Colony, because the court records of that period alone are sufficiently detailed to possess historic interest. To make the review complete it would be necessary to refer to the numerous political trials which arose out of the normal state of popular dis-

content and rebellion against the narrow and illiberal form of colonial government. Another field which cannot be entered is the revolting disclosures of the records relative to outbreaks of criminal vice, the mere mention of which here could not be tolerated. It must be admitted that the state of morals in New Haven County was far from idyllic, and if any one sighs for a return to the purity and tranquility which our pious ancestors enjoyed in the days of Eaton and Davenport, he can be speedily cured of his longings by perusing the New Haven Colonial Records. One can hardly resist the conviction that much of the vice and crime with which those pages are stained, was due to the reaction of human nature against the gloomy austerity and slavish dread of "the wrath of God," which, like a crushing incubus, stunted the moral and mental development of the community. Certain it is that after the union with Connecticut in 1665, the records of the courts take on almost immediately a healthier tone, both with respect to morals and civil order.

Courts under Connecticut Laws.

After the union a new judicial system was established under the laws of Connecticut, including a County Court and, for the first time, trials by jury. A new code of laws was also introduced with new methods of trial, which left less latitude to the personal caprices and prejudices of the magistrate. During the rule of Sir Edmund Andross the colonial courts were superseded by courts of the crown, but on his overthrow in 1689 the colonial courts resumed their sessions under the Connecticut charter. It is probable that forms of procedure and trial were not affected by either change.

With the advent of the new judicial system and a gradual increase of business, the court records fell into a more perfunctory form, from which nothing can be learned except the names of the parties, the nature of the action and issue

and the judgment of the court. There were no newspapers for more than one hundred years, and when they appeared they made little or no reference to court proceedings until long after the beginning of the present century. For these reasons the annals of New Haven judicature between 1670 and 1820 are almost a blank as regards historic incident or interest. Within this period there were several trials for murder and other capital crimes which must have caused much local excitement, but they are not touched upon in the newspapers, and even the convictions and executions which followed are alluded to not at all, or in the most meager manner.

Capital Punishments.

It may be mentioned here that no capital executions have ever taken place on the Green unless Nepaupuck was beheaded there in 1639, which is doubtful. In 1646 another Indian was beheaded in New Haven, but probably not on the Green. Before 1700 there were at least two hangings at Oystershell Fields in the vicinity of Brewery street, and between 1700 and 1800 there were three, all which took place on the south bank of the flats opposite East Rock, a few rods west of State street at a spot which was called Hangman's Hill within the memory of persons now living. In 1835 a law was passed requiring capital executions to be had within the jail yard. The nearest approach to a hanging on the Green that I know of took place in 1828, and is still remembered by some of our oldest citizens. On that occasion a scaffold was erected on the Green opposite the jail and a woman exposed upon it with a halter around her neck for the space of one hour as a punishment for concealing the death of an illegitimate child. The statute prescribing this penalty was repealed in 1830.

The Amistad Case.

Since 1820 there have been numerous cases tried on the Green which were of local celebrity, but only one, previous to 1861, was of such widespread importance and interest as to require mention here. This was the trial of the African negroes who were taken with the Spanish slaver *Amistad* in 1839 in the waters of Long Island Sound. The story of this trial, and of the other legal proceedings growing out of it, has been fully narrated by Judge Baldwin in a paper published by the Society, and I will not repeat it. Suffice it to say that the Africans were charged with murder and piracy on the high seas and the influence of the United States government was strongly exerted to secure either their conviction or their delivery to the Spanish authorities. The masterly and successful defence interposed by their principal counsel, Roger S. Baldwin, won for him a national reputation, while the sympathy aroused for these poor slaves, who had bravely vindicated their right to freedom, was one of the factors in the growth of anti-slavery sentiment then forming in the public mind. During the two years that the fate of the negroes was in abeyance they were confined in New Haven jail on Church street, and in pleasant weather were frequently taken over to the Green for exercise; at which time they capered and tumbled about on the grass in a manner highly entertaining to the numerous spectators.

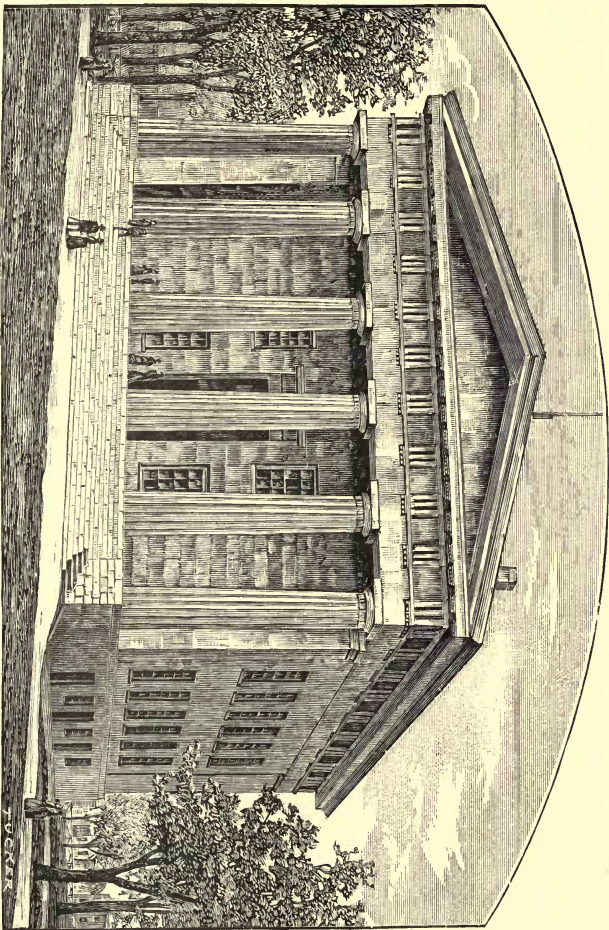
The New Haven Bar.

A chronicle of the judicial proceedings associated with the Green would be grossly defective if it omitted reference to the lawyers, who in their several days and generations were the principal actors in those proceedings and did most to make them interesting and memorable, especially to the parties litigant. In such a chronicle, however,

a chapter on the New Haven Bar prior to 1730 would be like the famous chapter on "The Snakes in Ireland" inasmuch as prior to that year there was, properly speaking, no New Haven Bar in existence. It would therefore be in striking contrast with a chapter on the Bar at the present time, which might almost be entitled "On the Snakes Out of Ireland," especially since that prolific incubator, the Yale Law School, has been hatching out these emblems of wisdom in annual swarms as "rigler" members of the profession.

Before 1708 any person might appear in court as attorney for another in any civil cause, but in that year a law was passed forbidding such appearance unless the attorney should be approved by the court and take an attorney's oath. In 1725 these practising pettifoggers began to attract attention by their "pernicious activity," and to check the growing evil the Legislature imposed a special tax on attorneys "in proportion to their faculty." The tax, however, seems to have had a stimulating effect, for in 1730 the Legislature felt called upon to pass another act declaring that "of late so many persons have taken upon themselves to be attorneys at the Bar that quarrels and law suits are multiplied, and the king's good subjects disturbed." It thereupon provided that thereafter there should be only eleven attorneys in the colony, four in Hartford and two in each of the others, and that these authorized attorneys should be appointed by the County Court and be subject to removal by it. Under this act, which may be said to have founded the New Haven Bar as a branch of the court, the County Court of New Haven, in November, 1730, appointed Mr. William Addams, of Milford, to be one of the two attorneys for that county, and apparently made no other appointment; so that Mr. Addams, so far as I can discover, was the first regular member of the New Haven Bar. In 1731, that part of the law which restricted the number of attorneys was repealed, and in November, 1734, Messrs. Daniel Edwards, of New Haven; Elihu Hall,

of Wallingford, and Michael Hill of Guilford, "were admitted by the court to the office of attorney and sworn, according to law." In 1737, Samuel Darling, of New Haven, was admitted; in 1742, Robert Fairchild, of Durham. In 1743, Messrs. Samuel Andrews and Jared Ingersoll, both of Milford, were admitted, and in 1753 Messrs. Ezra Stiles, of New Haven, and James Hillhouse, of New London, were similarly enrolled. From this time on there seems to have been no lack of legal talent at the command of the New Haven public, and before the century closed, Jared and Jonathan Ingersoll, James Abraham Hillhouse, Roger Sherman, Pierpont Edwards, Nathan Smith and others had already placed the New Haven Bar in the high rank which it has ever since maintained in the public esteem and in national reputation. From 1800 to 1828, David Daggett, Simeon Baldwin, William Bristol, Seth P. Staples, Dyer White and Eleazar Foster were the most prominent among the practitioners in the old Court House of 1763; and during the latter part of that period Ralph and Charles A. Ingersoll, Roger S. Baldwin, Dennis Kimberley and others came to the front rank of the generation whose career was well begun when the third Court House was occupied in 1828. Later in that generation, and among its most distinguished leaders, are to be included Alfred Blackman, Clark Bissell and Henry Dutton, who came to New Haven at different periods, after the Court House of 1828 was erected. Such was the bar of New Haven which was identified with the closing period of the Green's judicial history. To quote the words of ex-Governor Harrison in a recent obituary address: "The group of men who led and controlled that bar was large, very large in comparison with its whole membership, and nobody who ever saw those men can ever forget them. It was a splendid galaxy of great lawyers—such a galaxy as had never been seen here before and has never been seen here since."



THE STATE HOUSE.
Built 1828—Removed 1889.

Emoluments of the Bar.

It may be interesting to glance for a moment at the emoluments of the New Haven Bar during its earlier years, so far as light can be gathered on that obscure subject, if only to illustrate the modest returns which have always been realized by that ill-paid body of public benefactors.

The law of 1730, which has been already referred to, provided that, "the attorneys' fees of the county or inferior courts should be ten shillings and no more, and at the Superior Court, twenty shillings and no more." This attempt to restrict the liberality of grateful clients, however, proved a failure, and in order to obviate the habitual disregard of a legal ordinance by an appreciative public, the law was subsequently superseded by a rule of the bar that the rates of compensation for the various kinds of legal service should be *not less* than certain specified amounts. It is believed that this wise regulation has ever since been conformed to by the profession with loyal and honorable fidelity. One difficulty in the way of establishing fixed rates by law in the last century arose from the fact that lawyers were generally obliged to take their pay in materials which had no fixed relation to any uniform standard of value. Some light is thrown on this point by an advertisement in the *Connecticut Journal* of December 24, 1777, in which Pierpont Edwards offers to give "rum, sugar and ginger by retail in exchange for flax, butter, and eggs or Continental currency." This is the only instance I have been able to discover where a member of the New Haven Bar gave public notice, and especially on the day before Christmas, that he had more of the aforesaid genial ingredients on hand than he required for his own consumption. Two months later we find another advertisement by Mr. Edwards, offering cart tires and old iron for sale, which seems to indicate that the lawyers of that day stood by their clients to the last as faithfully as they do now.

Mayor Lewis and General Terry.

In December, 1862, the courts took their departure from the State House to the new City Hall, on Church street, and the Green ceased to be the seat of judicial tribunals. Of the fifty-seven members of the local bar then enrolled in the Connecticut Register, eleven now survive; most of them still in harness, and all of them, without exception, having achieved successful and honored careers in their profession and the public service. As we look through that list of attorneys of 1862, our eyes rest upon the names of two, now gone, who had both been prominent officials of the courts while they held their sessions on the Green, and whose subsequent careers of usefulness and distinction invest their names with a special interest as among those which New Haven will longest cherish with gratitude and honor. The first of these names, in order, is that of Henry G. Lewis. He had been Clerk of the Superior Court from 1847 to 1851, and in 1862 he gave up his legal practice to engage in other pursuits. In 1870 he was elected Mayor of New Haven, and continued in office till 1877, and was again elected for two years in 1880. To his foresight, public spirit and energy during his first official term as Mayor, in the face of strong opposition, New Haven is indebted for the system of sewers which all now see to have been indispensable for the comfort and health of the community. He took an active interest in the improvement of our streets and it was during his first administration that their general reconstruction with Telford pavements was begun. During his second mayoralty he promoted the opening of East Rock Park and after his retirement from official life he aided in the establishment of our present public park system. It was his warm heart and ready brain which originated that New Haven institution known as "Orphans' Day," and his bust, fitly placed on the summit of East Rock Park, which he helped to create,

looks with equal fitness toward one of those orphan homes which he so warmly befriended.

The other name at which we pause is that of Alfred H. Terry. He, too, had been Clerk of the Superior Court, holding that office from 1854 to 1860. Previous to that time, while still a youth, he had acted as Assistant Town Clerk for several years, and it is an interesting circumstance in connection with the subject of this paper, that in that capacity he transcribed an entire volume of the New Haven Colony records (from 1649 to 1662) with a view to their improved legibility and preservation. Thus it happens that almost the first volume of the records of judicial proceedings on New Haven Green, as well as part of the very last, are in his clear and graceful handwriting. In July, 1860, he gave up his clerical office and a year later was on the field of battle at the head of the regiment which he had organized, developing those splendid qualities which afterwards drew from Admiral Porter the admiring encomium that "he was the beau ideal of a soldier and a gentleman." No characterization could be more fitting, for never was a more gallant spirit graced with a finer culture, or enshrined in a purer and more magnanimous soul. New Haven will honor itself when it shall place the figure of the chivalrous soldier near to that of the public-spirited civilian on those heights which are consecrated to the memory of its patriot heroes, its faithful officials and its generous benefactors.

NOTE TO PAPER NO. V.

NOTE I (page 150).

Had Peters compared the so-called "Blue laws" with those of other colonies and of England at the same period, his book would always have been cited as a tribute in honor of New Haven and Connecticut. In Virginia, absence from church was a capital crime. Blasphemy was punished by boring the tongue with a redhot bodkin and death. One political malcontent was thus punished and chained to a tree to die. Several others were put to death "by hanging, shooting, breaking on the wheel and the like." Another culprit, for defamation, was condemned to have his tongue bored with an awl, then to pass through a guard of forty men and "be butted by each of them, then to be knocked down and footed out of the fort." In Maryland, for blasphemy the first offence was punished by boring the tongue and a fine of twenty pounds; the second offence by branding in the forehead with a letter B and a fine of forty pounds, and the third offence by death. In New York under the Dutch, torture was a recognized method of extracting confessions in criminal trials. Lutherans and Quakers were driven from the province by fines and whipping. Even under English rule and as late as 1707, a Presbyterian minister, for preaching one sermon in the city of New York, was imprisoned and compelled to pay the costs of court amounting to \$300. In Massachusetts the record of torture and cruelty, notably toward Quakers and witches, makes that of New Haven tame and insignificant. Yet even this was far surpassed in atrocity by the criminal code of England long after Massachusetts had abandoned her fault, and repented of it in dust and ashes. New Haven Colony can well afford to have its laws termed "blue" in contrast with the black and crimson legislation of its contemporaries.

VI.

THE GREEN AS AN EDUCATIONAL CAMPUS.

The founders of New Haven avowed the leading purpose of their settlement here to be, "to establish a state whose design was religion." In connection with this purpose, and to furnish the pillars of such a state, they contemplated a liberally-educated class who should be leaders and guides in religious and secular affairs. And in order to provide such a class they planned, as their records repeatedly express it, "for the training up of youth, that, through the blessing of God, they might be fitted for publique service in church and commonweale."

Accordingly, when the settlers left Boston in 1638, taking with them a pastor and a soldier, they also took, as equally essential, a high-grade professional schoolmaster. Ezekiel Cheever, who accompanied the party, was then in his 24th year. He had been a teacher in Boston, and throughout his long life he never had or attempted any other vocation. Almost immediately after the landing, and fully a year before either church or state was organized, a school had been set up in Mr. Cheever's house. The house stood near the southeast corner of Church and Grove streets, almost within the shadow of Mr. Newman's barn, where church and state were founded in June, 1639.

The First School-house.

There is good reason to believe that a school-house was built for Mr. Cheever within two or three years after 1639, though there is no direct evidence of it. Michael Wigglesworth, in his autobiography, says that in 1639 he was a pupil of Mr. Cheever, "who, at that time, taught school in his own house." He also states that in 1645 he came again under Mr. Cheever's instruction, but does not mention

the place, and the natural inference is that a school-house had been in the meanwhile erected. The inference is confirmed by other circumstances. Four years previous to Michael's second pupilage, that is to say, on the 25th of December, 1641, there had been held a town meeting, at which "it was ordered that a free school shall be set up in this towne, and our pastour, Mr. Davenport, together with the magistrates, shall consider what yearly allowance is meete to be given to it out of the treasury of the towne." Under this order Mr. Cheever was appointed schoolmaster, and £20 a year was paid to him until August, 1644, when the salary was increased to £30. It is probable that under this vote a school-house was also provided, and that Mr. Cheever was installed in it before 1645. It is certain that in 1651 the town, being then in the course of negotiations for a new schoolmaster, agreed that the school-house should be repaired. There must, therefore, have been a school-house in existence in 1651 which was old enough to need repairs. Mr. Cheever had left town in 1649, and no school had been kept since his departure. The school-house must, therefore, have been used by him when the free school was set up in 1641 or shortly thereafter.

The question where the first school-house stood is one upon which the records throw no direct light, and with regard to which various surmises have been advanced. From a comparison of several different sources of information I have no doubt that it stood on the Green near Elm street a little west of Temple.* It was renovated and enlarged in 1660 and was in use thereafter as a grammar and English school until 1723, when a new school-house was built for the grammar school on the Green near College street. From this time till 1656 the old school-house (doubtless with occasional repairs) was occupied for an English school until 1656, when it was superseded by a new brick school-house on the same location. This continued in use as a town school until 1815, when it was taken

* See Note 1 at end of this paper.

down. The grammar school-house of 1723 fell into dilapidation and disuse after 1790, and was removed as a nuisance sometime before 1800.

Early School Education.

Having thus traced the history of the several school buildings on the Green so far as our materials permit, let us next follow the progress and vicissitudes of educational interests within their walls.

The "free school" which was set up in 1641 by vote of the town was not intended to be a school free of cost to the pupils. It was simply a public school, controlled and partly supported by the public and "free" or "open" to all who chose to attend and pay tuition fees. Neither was it what we understand by "a common school," viz., one designed for instruction in the elementary English branches. Elementary instruction, when it was acquired at all, was obtained either in the family or from private teachers; and as was remarked in a town meeting debate, "it was scarce known in any place to have a free school for teaching English and writing." The law of 1656 required that parents or masters should provide in some way that "their children and apprentices should be taught to read the Scriptures and other good and profitable books in the English tongue, being their native language, and in some competent measure to understand the main grounds and principles of the Christian religion necessary to salvation." It also required the public officials to ascertain any negligence in this respect, and to report offenders to the court.* Apparently a young man who could read the Bible after a fashion and answer questions in theology to the satisfaction of a constable, was thought sufficiently educated for all the ordinary purposes of life. If in addition to this he could write enough to make out a bill, and was able to foot it up correctly, his educational qualifications were regarded with

* See Note 2.

great respect. In 1660, at the prompting of Mr. Davenport, the town extended the law so as to require that "all boys should be learned to write a legible hand as soon as they are capable," but it saw no need of adopting his other recommendations that "they should also be taught to cast up accounts competently and should make some entrance into the Latin tongue."

Dame Schools and other Schools.

For this primary or, as it might be called, common school education for the masses, the town made no provision. The law of 1656, already quoted, required that it should be imparted to children by parents and masters, "either by their own ability and labor or by improving such school-master or other help as the plantation doth afford or the family conveniently provide." So far as can be ascertained, the reliance for such instruction was upon dame schools, where small boys and girls were taught their letters and "manners." That some other accomplishments were occasionally acquired at these schools appears from the record of the trial of a little girl before the magistrates' court in 1651 for "prophane swearing." The language charged was the fiendish expressions "By my soul," and "As I am a Christian," and the child's mother, by way of extenuation, suggested that "she had learned some of her ill-carriage at Goodwife Wickham's, where she went to scoole." The frightened little culprit denied the charge, which only made matters worse. In the end she was found guilty, and after being lectured with copious and lurid warnings from Scripture, was fined ten shillings for "profanity" and ordered "to be whipped according to her years" for telling lies to the court.

To boy graduates of the dame schools who could read in the Testament, the free school opened its doors provided their parents were willing to pay the tuition fees for the higher education there imparted. What the extent of the

higher education was, we learn from the records. Teachers employed for the school were required "to perfect male children in ye Englishe after they can read in their Testament or Bible, and to learn them to wright and to bring them on to Lattine as they are capable and desire to proceed therein." Arithmetic was not embraced in this curriculum, and was not taught in the grammar school. In 1645, "Mr. Pearce, a private teacher, desired the plantation to take notice that if any will send their children to him he will instruct them in writing and arethmatick," but arithmetic without Latin had no chance in competition with Latin without arithmetic, and nothing is heard of Mr. Pearce's school afterwards. Thus early did the New Haven educational atmosphere acquire that predominating flavor of the dead languages which has ever since distinguished it, and thus did New Haven begin its high school system by cramming the pupils with ornamental studies, and neglecting to train them in those which are of practical every-day use. I have not yet ascertained the exact date when that practice was discontinued.

Ezekiel Cheever.

How successful Mr. Cheever's career as a pedagogue was in New Haven, and how many scholars he had, we have no means of knowing. Some of his later pupils in Boston have left reminiscences concerning him from which we may draw inferences respecting his methods of instruction and discipline at New Haven. According to these narrators, the boys found it expedient to watch the schoolmaster's cane as closely as their text-books, and as one witness remarks, "when they saw him begin to stroke his pointed beard they all got ready to stand from under." This general panic in the school-room probably arose from an uncertainty where the lightning was going to strike, for the same witness declares that it was Mr. Cheever's practice, whenever a boy made a bad recitation, to flog

another boy for not exercising a better influence over the delinquent; and that one chronic victim of these vicarious inflictions, in order to escape them, was compelled to thrash a lazy comrade so that he never came to school any more. With such amiable peculiarities as this, it is safe to say that Mr. Cheever was not idolized by the schoolboys of New Haven, and for some reason he also failed to ingratiate himself with the older part of the community. In 1647, he was called before the church to answer for "his contradictory, stiff and proud frame of spirit," as manifested in sundry offensive carriages toward the magistrates and elders, and after a ridiculous and scandalous proceeding called a church trial was "cast out of the church till the proud flesh be destroyed and he be brought to a more reasonable frame." After this certificate of character he hardly felt encouraged to continue his instruction of youth in New Haven. and accordingly removed to Ipswich and afterwards to Boston, where he died at the age of 93, having continued to teach till the year before his death.

Whatever doubt may exist as to Mr. Cheever's personal success as an instructor in New Haven, it is certain that he made his little school-house on the Green the point from which classical education in New England derived one of its principal means of preservation and progress for more than a hundred and fifty years. This vitalizing agency was the manual of Latin instruction known as "Cheever's Accidence, or Introduction to the Latin tongue." This book was compiled by him while in New Haven and was used in the grammar schools of New England through nineteen editions, the last of which was issued in 1838. It was the first school book in the classics if not the first school book of any kind produced in this country, and thus upon New Haven Green, before the virgin forest was cleared from its surface, began that splendid record of American educational literature in which the share of New Haven from first to last has not been surpassed by that of any rival.

The Colony Collegiate School.

The departure of Mr. Cheever left the town not only without a public school, but so far as can be ascertained without any means of education whatever. It was not easy to find a schoolmaster competent to take Mr. Cheever's place, and when after three years a successor was obtained, so many children came to him to be taught their letters and so few to study the classics that he became discouraged and continued only six months in the work. The same troubles were repeated under his successors; and after several years' trial, it was evident that as a nursery for ministers and statesmen the town school was a failure. In 1660 Mr. Bowers, the schoolmaster, "desired to knowe the towne's mind, whether they would have a schoole or no schoole, for he could not satisfie himself to goe on thus." The matter was referred to the court, elders and townsmen for consideration, and after a few months it was decided to abandon the school as a town institution, and to re-establish it as a colony grammar school, to be maintained jointly by all the towns of the colony.

This step was not entirely determined by the existing condition of the school, but was in accordance with plans that had been cherished by the colony from its inception. It had been a darling purpose of the founders of New Haven to establish a college there as soon as their means and other circumstances would permit. It was with this in view that they had brought Mr. Cheever with them from Boston, and had set up a classical school for him to the neglect of all other public instruction. In the first layout of the town they had set apart a tract of forty acres below Olive street, called the Oystershell Fields, "for the town's disposal" with a view to its application to this object. In 1648 this provision was enlarged by adding three acres on Elm street fronting the market place, known as "the Mrs. Eldred lot," because it had been originally reserved for

Mrs. Eldred, one of the proprietors, who was expected to arrive, but who never came to America. This tract, which afterwards became the home lot of Rev. Mr. Pierpont, extended on Elm street from the east boundary of the present Bristol place to the west boundary of the Foster place, running back to Wall street. In 1652 and again in 1655 the plan of starting the college as a colony enterprise was strongly agitated and three hundred pounds were raised in New Haven for the project, but the other towns felt unprepared to assume their share of the burden and the movement fell through.

The Hopkins Bequest.

In 1657 new hope was infused into the college scheme by a bequest from Mr. Edward Hopkins, a son-in-law of Governor Eaton, who had just died in London. By this bequest certain property in Connecticut Colony, inventoried at about fourteen hundred pounds "besides a negar," was devised to three trustees, Mr. Davenport of New Haven, Mr. Goodwin of Hadley and Mr. Cullick of Boston. The inclusion of "a negar" in the inventory of property is perhaps the earliest evidence that African servants were held as chattels at that time in Connecticut.* By the terms of the will the bequest was to be used at the discretion of the trustees "for the breeding up of hopeful youths in New England, both at grammar school and college, for the public service of the country." The trustees decided to use the money for maintaining grammar schools at New Haven and Hadley, with an allowance to Harvard College. In 1660 Mr. Davenport brought the matter to the attention of the town. He offered to apply the share allotted to New Haven in aid of a grammar school to be maintained by the colony provided the town and colony would also make provision for its support according to certain conditions which he specified. Both town and colony accepted the

* See Note 3.

conditions, the town agreeing among other things to provide a school-house, and to devote the Eldred lot and the Oystershell Fields to educational uses, while the colony agreed to make an annual allowance for its support. Everything being arranged, Mr. Peck was engaged as schoolmaster and in the fall of 1660 the colony grammar school went into operation.

It now looked as if the foundations of the future college were actually laid and the course of study prescribed was made correspondingly ambitious. Mr. Peck was required "to teach ye scholars Latin, Greek and Hebrew and fit them for ye college" (meaning Harvard for the time being,) and also to teach them "oratory, and to write so far as was necessary in his worke." Again we notice that arithmetic is not mentioned. In fact arithmetic was not then taught even at Harvard until the third or senior year; and only after the students had been fully prepared for it by the preliminary absorption of logic, physics, syntax, ethics, politics, dialects, prosody and Chaldee. Another preparation for college was also overlooked in the school curriculum but was supplied by the enterprise of the students who secured private instruction. In August, 1661, Goody Spinnage was called before the court for allowing "ye scollars to play at cards at her house on Saturday afternoons and holidays." The thriving class in this optional study was quickly broken up and Professor Spinnage only escaped punishment by a humble confession, with the excuse that "she did not then judge it to be a sinne, but is now sorry that she gave way to such disorder."

Sequestration of the Hopkins Fund by Connecticut.

It soon appeared that the Hopkins executors, in arranging for the distribution of the fund between New Haven, Hadley and Harvard, had reckoned without their host. The property was all within the jurisdiction of Connecticut, a cognomen which then as now was practically synonymous

with Hartford, and that thrifty community resolved that New Haven should not enjoy its good fortune except upon the terms of giving to Hartford at least an equal share. With this business-like purpose in view, no sooner was the Hopkins will made public than the General Assembly of Connecticut sequestered the whole estate into its own possession, appointing an administrator of its own, forbidding any action by the trustees named in the will, and interposing all kinds of obstacles to the settlement of the estate. For over five years these impediments were continued. All collections being stopped, many claims were lost, and other wastes occurred until the property had dwindled, as was estimated, nearly one-quarter in amount. By that time the trustees, tired of the unequal contest and fearing the loss of the whole fund, consented to devote four hundred pounds to the establishment of a grammar school at Hartford, provided the authorities would agree not to hinder further settlement of the estate; whereupon the sequestration was immediately removed. The estate on final settlement in 1665 produced about £1,200; of which £400 went to Hartford and £400 to New Haven; £300 went to Hadley, £100 went to Harvard College, and "the negar" went to parts unknown.

In the meantime the Colony school, the incipient college at New Haven which had been born in 1660, had lived and died, and had long been buried. In the expectation of the Hopkins fund, great enthusiasm had been awakened. The colony had appropriated liberally for the school's endowment and support. The town had greatly enlarged and improved the school-house, and had turned it over as an elegant academic hall to the colony. It had also voted a house to the schoolmaster with an allowance of £10 a year toward his maintenance. It assigned special seats of honor in the meeting-house "to the schollers," and as a natural consequence was soon after obliged to appoint Edwin Baker to keep them in order during divine service; and as

an extraordinary indulgence the hour of opening school was changed during the winter season from seven o'clock in the morning to eight. Strange to say, notwithstanding all these allurements the candidates for honors in "Latin, Greek, Hebrew, oratory, and as much writing as the work required," were few in number and fell off rapidly. In a few months, Mr. Davenport complained that only five or six children came from the town, and that the pupils were very inconstant in their attendance. In 1662 the colony, tired of the experiment, voted to discontinue its support.

The college being thus indefinitely postponed, and the town left to shift for itself, the latter concluded to mitigate its zeal in behalf of the learned languages, and in the following year engaged George Pardee as schoolmaster "to teach English and writing and to carry the scholars in Latin as far as he could," which Mr. Pardee frankly told them was a very short distance indeed. Some visionary crank made a remark in town meeting to the effect "that arithmatick was very necessary in these parts," but the suggestion met with no favor, and as a substitute the meeting advised that "the youth be instructed in point of manners, there being a great fault in that respect as some exprest."

Of course, by this abandonment of a grammar school, New Haven relinquished its claims on the Hopkins fund, which the Hartford authorities still held in their clutches; but in 1664, Mr. Davenport, being anxious that the town should not give up finally his favorite plan of a collegiate school, again called up the subject in town meeting. Reminding his hearers that "we are in a very low way for learning," he besought the town to make a new effort to secure permanently the benefit of the Hopkins fund, by sending for a new schoolmaster and starting the grammar school again. Under the stimulus of this appeal the town voted £30 a year for a grammar school and appointed a committee, but apparently went no farther. New Haven Colony was then in the throes of dissolution and within the next two years passed out of existence by absorption into Connecticut.

The Hopkins Grammar School Founded.

By the laws of Connecticut every town was required to maintain a grammar school, and in 1667 New Haven, being notified of this obligation, voted a grant of thirty pounds a year to support such a school and engaged Mr. Street as schoolmaster. The following year Mr. Davenport, being about to remove to Boston, called on the town to say whether it intended to carry on the school permanently in such a way as to secure the Hopkins fund or not. Thereupon several of the leading citizens expressed their purpose "of bringing up their sons to learning," and Mr. Street reported "that he had already eight in lattan and expected several more." On these assurances Mr. Davenport a few weeks later executed a deed, conveying the Hopkins fund to certain local trustees, for the support and maintenance of "the grammar school or college already founded and begun at New Haven." The deed recited the fact that the school-house and schoolmaster's house belonging to the town had already been granted and confirmed to the uses of the school and stipulated that these and also the Oyster-shell fields and the Eldred lot should be forever held for the support of the "Grammar or Collegiate School." Thus the Hopkins Grammar School was finally established in New Haven, and it has survived, with various vicissitudes in its activity and prosperity, to this day. It was born on the Green and there it passed the first century and a half of its existence, as will be seen hereafter.

Mr. Street continued to instruct the grammar school till 1673, when he removed to Wallingford, and the school was closed for a year, apparently for lack of both teacher and scholars. It was then opened with George Pardee again in charge, who was still a man of Shakesperian qualities, with respect to knowing "small Latin and less Greek." He therefore undertook only "to teach English and ye accidence and any gramer rules as far as he could." So

small a modicum of classics was not satisfactory to the colonial authorities, and in 1676 the county Marshal notified the town that he had a warrant against it for not maintaining a grammar school according to law. Under this pressure the town voted in July, 1677, that "twenty pounds per annum be paid from the town treasury for the encouragement and maintenance of a schoolmaster who shall not only teach ye languages, but also perfect ye youth in reading English, they being entered in ye Primmer and to teach them to write a legible hand." No instructor of sufficient erudition for such a course could be found however, and even George Pardee seems to have abandoned the field, for in 1681 we find there was renewed complaint that "there was no schoolmaster" and a debate about getting one "to teach at least English till one who could teach ye languages could be obtained, that the youth might not lose their time."

Early School Books.

The foregoing allusions to "the accidence" and the "primmer" as school books are interesting as allusions to the only text-books used in the early colonial schools of which we have now any knowledge. "The Accidence" was of course Mr. Cheever's little book, of which the first edition was printed in London in 1660, and the nineteenth in Boston in 1838. What the "Primmer" was, it is not so easy to determine. We read that in 1645 Mrs. Stolion, who kept a dry goods and "notion" store, was complained of before the court for charging extortionate prices, and among the items specified it was said that "she sold Primmers at 9d, which cost 4d here in New England." These were doubtless an imported book containing the alphabet and easy spelling and reading lessons, much like the famous New England Primer which appeared at some unknown date prior to 1690. Probably the primers in use in 1674 were

the same as those sold by Mrs. Stolion in 1645, as textbooks were not then supplied to schools at the public expense and consequently were not changed every year or two for the benefit of publishers. As the standard price of these primers in 1645 was only four pence, it is not likely that the horn book, which must have been much inferior for tuition purposes, was ever in vogue in New Haven.

Revival of the Grammar School.

After 1683 the town records cease to throw any light on the progress of education in the schools of New Haven, but the grammar school records, which began to be kept in that year, partly supply the deficiency. From these it appears that boys from New Haven County were admitted free, all others on payment of ten shillings. The pupils were divided into "English boyes" and "Lattine boyes." The English boys were taught "to perfect their right spelling and reading and to write and to cypher in numeration and addition and no further." The studies of the Latin boys are not specified, but were probably such as were required for entering Harvard College, viz.: Latin enough to translate Cicero, and to speak Latin in prose and verse; also the elements of Greek grammar.

The records of the County Court show that the school received £15 a year from the county, and the court appointed or confirmed the schoolmaster. Pupils were admitted as soon as they could read. The hours of study were in the morning from 6 to 11 o'clock, and in the afternoon from 1 to 4 in the winter, and from 1 to 5 in the summer. There were apparently no half-holidays, for the rules required the boys to be examined Monday mornings on the sermons, and Saturday afternoons in the Catechism. Even as late as 1729 the school was ordered "kept seven hours a day in the winter and eight in summer, and not to exceed twelve play dayes in the year." How it was pos-

sible to make boys work so much in order to learn so little is a problem of which we have no recorded solution. Doubtless the unsuitable character of the text-books and the defective methods of instruction are accountable for most of the profitless drudgery.

Under these inspiring regulations the little boys of New Haven pursued their studies with blithesome hearts in the old Colony school-house until 1723, when the joint arrangement between the grammar school and the town school came to an end and the Latin scholars moved into new and perhaps more commodious quarters. The grammar school was thereafter kept in the new school-house near College street, next the jail and opposite the new edifice called "Yale College," while an English school was maintained in the old building by the First Ecclesiastical Society as a town school. From 1718 to 1723 was an era of great public building in New Haven. In that period, besides the new one-story school-house, the jail, alongside of it, was enlarged and raised to two stories; a two-story state house was erected just beyond, near Elm street; and on the other side of College street, near Chapel, was reared the stately college building of wood, four stories high and twenty-two feet wide, whose grand "architectonic" effect then excited no little admiration.

The grammar school having now become entirely dissociated from the town management, there only remained to turn over to the trustees of the Hopkins fund such property belonging to it as still continued in the possession of the town. For this purpose a town meeting held in 1728 passed a vote vesting in the Hopkins School Committee full power over the Oystershell Fields, "to be improved by them for the upholding of a grammar school in the First Parish of this town for the educating of children of Presbyterian parents only, and no other use whatsoever, forever hereafter." Episcopalianism had just reared its hydra head in New Haven, and this vote was designed as timely notice that the privileges established to uphold the faith delivered

to the saints were not to be perverted for the benefit of dissenters. The slow growth of the new denomination made the restriction one of little practical consequence for many years, and after that period, if not before, it was always treated as a dead letter.

From this time onward, the progress of the grammar school appears to have been more steady. Teachers were always obtainable from graduates of the college. The college afforded a stimulus to education in the town, and as population and wealth increased scholars were not lacking. By the year 1790 the school-house of 1723 near the jail had fallen into dilapidation and the grammar school records show that between 1790 and 1795 two of the teachers obtained permission to keep the school in their own houses. After 1797 the trustees hired a room elsewhere for the use of the school until 1801, when they built a new school-house of wood on the corner of Crown and Church streets, the same ground now occupied by the Young Men's Republican Club. The old school-house, as already stated, was demolished sometime after 1795.

Other Schools on the Green.

After the separation of the grammar and English schools in 1723, the First Ecclesiastical Society, which was to all intents and purposes the town, carried on the English school in the old school-house, doubtless after putting it in a suitable state of renovation and repair. In 1755 the Society erected a new brick school-house on the same site as the old house,* and this continued in use until after the present North Church was erected, or until about 1815. The late Mr. Charles Thompson recollected attending school in this building and turning out with the other boys one bright day in June, 1813, to see the funeral cortege pass by which was bearing the dead bodies of Lawrence and his

* See Note 4.

brave lieutenant, Ludlow, of the frigate Chesapeake, with military escort, on their way to New York for burial.

Since the departure of the grammar school and the public school from the Green, several private schools have been kept within its borders. In 1822 Mr. John E. Lovell opened a Lancasterian school in the basement of the Methodist Church, then just erected. Mr. Lovell was an enthusiastic and thorough instructor, and is remembered by his pupils of two generations with esteem and gratitude for the valuable service which he rendered to the cause of education, the influence of which is still felt in New Haven. The peculiarities of the Lancasterian system as administered by Mr. Lovell consisted largely in utilizing the older scholars for imparting knowledge, and the occasional use of rattan and a certain "yellow pony" to promote attention and quicken the memory. Among the pleasing associations connected with the school are recollections of its annual exhibition, the leading feature of which was a dramatic performance by the boys, rendered with the daring accessories of costumes, scenery, drop-curtains and footlights. Had this entertainment been called a play it would have startled the moral sense of the community, but under the title of "an exhibition" it was viewed with delight by the most rigid of audiences. On at least one occasion it was given with all its theatrical paraphernalia within the walls of the sanctuary itself. The school was removed from the Green in 1827 to a large new building erected expressly for it, which stood on the lot on Orange street now occupied by the High School. At later periods two other private schools were kept in the basement of the Methodist Church, one by Mr. Lucius Thomas and another by Mr. Smith Dayton.

Publication Office on the Green.

If the newspaper is to be regarded as an educational institution, according to a theory entertained by some members of the editorial profession, it may be proper to

refer to one such guide, philosopher and friend which was domiciled for several years on the Green. This was the *Connecticut Journal and New Haven Post Boy*, a weekly paper which was started in 1767 by Thomas and Samuel Green, and was edited and published in the Old State House which stood near the corner of Elm and College streets on the site of its successor, the Methodist Church. The printing office was in "the old council chamber," and here were printed and sold not only the newspaper itself but also many sermons and other religious pamphlets, and occasionally almanacs, which besides other practical information sometimes contained essays on astrology, conjugation and witchcraft. In 1769 *The Connecticut Colony Law Book* was published at this office, containing all the laws in force in the colony. This printing office remained on the Green until June, 1772, when it was removed to the corner of College and Chapel streets, "over the store of Mr. Lockwood, and opposite Mr. Beers' tavern." Whatever merits as a public educator the *Connecticut Journal and Post Boy* may have had in other respects, it was sadly defective in its department of local news, and especially so with regard to reports of social scandals, family quarrels, brutal prize fights, bloody murders, and other cheerful and edifying occurrences which form such a prominent and instructive feature in the columns of its modern successors.

Town Library on the Green.

From the public press to the public library is a short transition, but in this case it takes us back to the earliest period of New Haven Colony. The first reference in the records to a town library is under date of March, 1652, when "Jerdice Boyce and William Russell were desired to make some seats in the school-house and a chest to put the books in." Possibly the books here referred to were school books, but if so volumes of a miscellaneous charac-

ter belonging to the town were soon added. In 1656 Governor Eaton delivered to Mr. Davenport "certain books lately belonging to his brother, Samuel Eaton, intended for the use of a college and appraised at about twenty pounds." A catalogue of these made by Mr. Davenport in 1658 is copied into the records of the townsmen (or selectmen) and shows a collection of one hundred volumes, mostly in Latin, including Calvin's Institutes, and many other entertaining theological, controversial and literary works. In 1658 "Mr. Gibbard acquainted the town that a friend of his in England had sent a parcel of books as a gift to the town and desired to know how the town would have them disposed of. It was declared that seeing they are, most of them, Latin school books, they left it to him and the schoolmaster and such others as they should take in to advise with." Probably the Eaton and Gibbard donations were both stored away in the school-house chest. In 1659 the General Court of the colony, in connection with its adoption of the collegiate or grammar school, appropriated eight pounds "for the procuring of books from Rev. Mr. Blinnman." By this time the library had outgrown the school-house chest, and in the following year Mr. Davenport, as one condition of giving a part of the Hopkins fund to the collegiate school, required that the colony should contribute toward building a school-house and library. In compliance with this request, when the school-house was enlarged by the town in 1661, a room in it was provided "with shelves to lay books on;" and when the volumes were arranged on these shelves they looked so attractive that Mr. Peck, the new schoolmaster, requested the privilege of reading them, which privilege was graciously granted, "provided a list of them be taken." Whether Mr. Peck ever availed himself of this permission to revel in the fields of fancy and humor thus laid open to him is unknown, but it is believed that he is the only person who ever felt tempted to do so. The shelf accommodations in the school-house seem to have been insufficient, for in 1661

Mr. Davenport referred to the fact that "there are now many books belonging to the town," and renewed his suggestion that "a library be built;" and in October, 1670, the townsmen "desired bro. Glover and bro. Winston to get a convenient place maid in the scool-hous to keep the town books in." Nothing more is heard of the town books until February, 1689, when by a vote of the townsmen, afterwards ratified by the town, they were all sold to Mr. Pierpont for forty pounds of rye and thirty-two bushels of Indian corn, equivalent, as appears by the town treasurer's account, to twelve pounds, eighteen shillings. As Mr. Pierpont must have known that some of these books had been originally intended to form a part of a college foundation, it is not unlikely that he may have used them for that purpose at Branford in 1700, when the ministers there assembled (if they ever did so assemble) and severally presented their gifts of books "for the founding of a college in this colony."

Association of the Green with Yale College.

This allusion to the founding of Yale College opens up a most interesting and important branch of our subject, viz., the association of the Green with the rise and progress of that institution. The preliminary and abortive efforts of the colony to create a college through the establishment and development of a grammar school have already been recounted. After the collapse of these plans in 1660 the project of a college remained in abeyance until the traditional and perhaps mythical meeting of the ministers in Branford, just referred to. In the meantime New Haven sent its boys to Harvard and extended generous aid to that institution, which was maintaining a precarious existence amid many discouragements. As early as 1644 this aid began, through the passage of the following vote by the General Court: "The proposition for the relief of poore schollars at the Coledg at Cambridg was fully approved off,

and thereupon it was ordered that Joshua Attwater and William Davis shall receive of every one in this plantation whose hart is willing to contribute thereunto a peck of wheat, or the vallue of itt." Thus was originated the annual contributions of "college corn" for the aid of Harvard College, which continued for over thirty years. By the end of the century, however, the town had become tired of supporting "poore scollars" at Cambridge, and felt strong enough to set up a rival institution, from which better results might be looked for. All arrangements having been completed by Mr. Pierpont and his associates, the General Assembly of Connecticut at the first session which it held in New Haven, October, 1701, granted the charter. The meeting-house was the place of the Assembly's gathering, and so at last the college which New Haven had so long hoped and striven for was born, and born on New Haven Green. The infant was not allowed to be cradled, however, in its parental home. Owing to the jealousy of certain towns on the Connecticut river, which need not be named, the trustees deemed it prudent to settle the college at Saybrook, "as the most convenient place for the present," reserving the right to alter their minds upon further consideration.

The College Controversy with Hartford.

For more than fifteen years the college languished, having its location nominally at Saybrook, but with its dozen students scattered about, wherever they could find instruction. By 1716 it had become evident that its removal to a larger place was essential to preserve its existence. The town of New Haven, with natural affection for its offspring, subscribed liberally for its establishment here, and voted to give it two valuable lots on opposite corners of Chapel and College streets for its location. Early in the same year the trustees decided to bring the college to New

Haven; the students were summoned hither and instruction here was commenced. At once a violent opposition to the change sprang up in the colony, led by the town of Hartford. That thrifty community, calling to mind its success of fifty years previous in looting the Hopkins Grammar School fund, now put forth strenuous and persistent efforts to kidnap New Haven's most precious child, the college, with an alternative eye to some equivalent as ransom. In pursuance of this plan it influenced several students and their tutors, who were gathered at Wethersfield, not only to refuse to remove to New Haven, but to proclaim themselves to be the original college. It also petitioned the General Assembly to order the college to be settled at Hartford, and pressed this petition vigorously through that and the following years. It succeeded in obtaining several favorable votes in the lower house, but these were regularly disagreed to by the other branch of the Assembly, which, with the governor, stood firm in support of New Haven.

While this petition was pending, the first Commencement in New Haven was held in September, 1717, with a graduating class of five; the exercises were private, as the college had as yet no name and no college building. In view, however, of the Hartford petition the trustees began at once the erection of a stately college hall, and pushed it to completion as rapidly as possible. Meantime the struggle went on in the General Assembly without decisive result. Hartford still continued to recognize the Wethersfield pretender as the original and genuine Jacob, and encouraged it to hold a commencement at which degrees were conferred.

The Splendid Commencement of 1718.

By this time the College Hall at New Haven was completed and the trustees resolved to hold a commencement of such an imposing character as to blight forever the

prospects of the Wethersfield imposition. Accordingly as many dignitaries of church and state throughout the colony as could be brought together, were assembled at New Haven in September, 1718, to grace the occasion. Governor Saltonstall headed the array, and Governor Yale, who had just sent additional gifts to the college, was represented by a proxy. In the morning the trustees met in the new building and solemnly named it Yale College, with many thanks to God and Governor Yale. A procession was then formed, which marched to the meeting-house on the Green, and there the literary exercises were held. There were orations and disputations in Latin. Eight students were graduated, and Governor Saltonstall wound up the program with an eloquent and highly edifying Latin oration. A sumptuous banquet followed in the College Hall, the ladies who had prepared it being generously allowed a side table by themselves in an adjoining room, and at the close all sang together the first four stanzas of the 65th Psalm, beginning as follows:

Thy praise alone, O Lord, doth reign
In Sion, thine own hill:
Their vows to thee they do maintain
And evermore fulfil.

This melodious eulogy of New Haven as the genuine and only Zion brimming over with honesty and pious devotion, called the divine attention very strongly to its contrast in these respects with the Wethersfield Samaria and was regarded as quite an effective hit at that bogus concern. The whole affair passed off with great satisfaction and success. Says Rev. Samuel Johnson, who was present, "Everything was managed with such order and splendor that the fame of it extremely disheartened the opposition and made opposition fall before it."

In fact this imposing demonstration practically decided the contest before the Legislature. Hartford indeed appeared in the ring a month later at the October session,

but the "splendid commencement" and the "architectonic" College Hall, which loomed up on the west side of the Green, were two knock-out blows in her solar plexus, and perceiving that she had lost the fight she handsomely expressed herself willing to be soothed by an equal division of the prize. This liberal offer was promptly accepted, and it only remained to settle the terms. These were arranged by the passage of a compromise act at the same session of the General Assembly, whereby the college was fixed at New Haven, and a brand new State and Court House was ordered erected at Hartford at the expense of the colony. By this equitable arrangement, arrived at on New Haven Green, the first great crisis in the history of the college was relieved. The Wethersfield establishment, whose students were described as "a vicious and turbulent set of fellows," made much additional trouble before it was suppressed. Without the active aid of Hartford, however, it finally disappeared, and has been appropriately succeeded in modern times by an institution with inmates of similar proclivities, which adorns that pleasant suburb of our sister city.

Students attend Church on the Green.

After 1718 the Green had little association with the history of the college for many years, except through its use by the students as a play-ground and as a place where they assembled weekly for public worship and annually for the Commencement exercises. Until 1753 the students attended Sunday services at the meeting-house. Seats were assigned them in the galleries, the college authorities paying thirty pounds per annum with the onerous agreement to keep the seats and adjacent windows in repair. Nothing was said about stairways, and it became necessary in 1728 to provide for the preservation of these by calling on the constables and grand jurors to prevent disorders by the students in their use. In 1753, as one result of the Old

and New-light controversy, the students were withdrawn to college grounds for religious exercises, and since then have always worshipped in quarters of their own. President Clap, who at first sided with the Old-lights, was a strong partizan, and procured a rule of the college forbidding the students to attend on New-light preaching. It was for violating this order that the eminent David Brainard was expelled from college; and at about the same time two other students were expelled for attending New-light services with their parents while at home on a vacation. Evidently the proclivity of students to go to places which are forbidden is not of modern origin, and suggests that if compulsory chapel is ever abolished it would be well to go one step farther and make attendance on Sunday service a penal offence.

President Clap's Defence of College Charter.

Notwithstanding President Clap's affiliations with the Old-light party, his withdrawal of the students from public worship on the Green was very offensive to the Old-lights and in time caused an open rupture of their friendly relations. A new charter had been granted the college by the Legislature in 1745 which reposed the entire management of the institution in the hands of its trustees. Nevertheless in 1763 the Old-light leaders appealed to the Legislature then assembled at New Haven to interfere with the government of the college, alleging maladministration of its affairs and great disorders among the students. The attack was supported by a powerful influence in the state, and was led by some of its ablest lawyers, and President Clap resisted it with great vigor, learning and ability. He took the ground that the Legislature had no power to abrogate the vested rights of the corporation, and thus, as Chancellor Kent remarks, anticipated the celebrated argument of Mr. Webster in the Dartmouth College case

made more than half a century later. The contest was an arduous one, but the result was the same in the General Assembly as it was afterwards in the Supreme Court of the United States. At the October session held at New Haven, the Legislature refused to interfere, and thus the second great crisis in the history of Yale College was met and successfully passed on New Haven Green.

Although this attempt to invade the college charter had failed, and was not renewed, yet there remained behind for many years a feeling of jealousy and ill will on the part of the colony toward the college, and in 1791 President Stiles recognized the expediency of admitting the State authorities to a share in its administration. Accordingly in that year, by consent of the corporation, an act was passed by the Legislature whereby the governor, the lieutenant-governor and six of the council were added to it as associate members. This arrangement continued undisturbed till 1871, when a demand for alumni representation brought about the present system, by which the six state senators have given way to an equal number of alumni elected by the graduates.

Between 1791 and 1862 there was no important legislation affecting the interests of the college, and I will now advert to those associations of the college with the Green that grow out of Commencement celebrations and other incidental connections.

College Commencements on the Green.

The "splendid commencement of 1718," which has been described, was the first public commencement of the college. There was a public commencement in September of every year thereafter until 1746, when "on account of the great charge and expense and other inconveniences of public commencements," the occasion was private. The next year the public exercises were revived but were again sus-

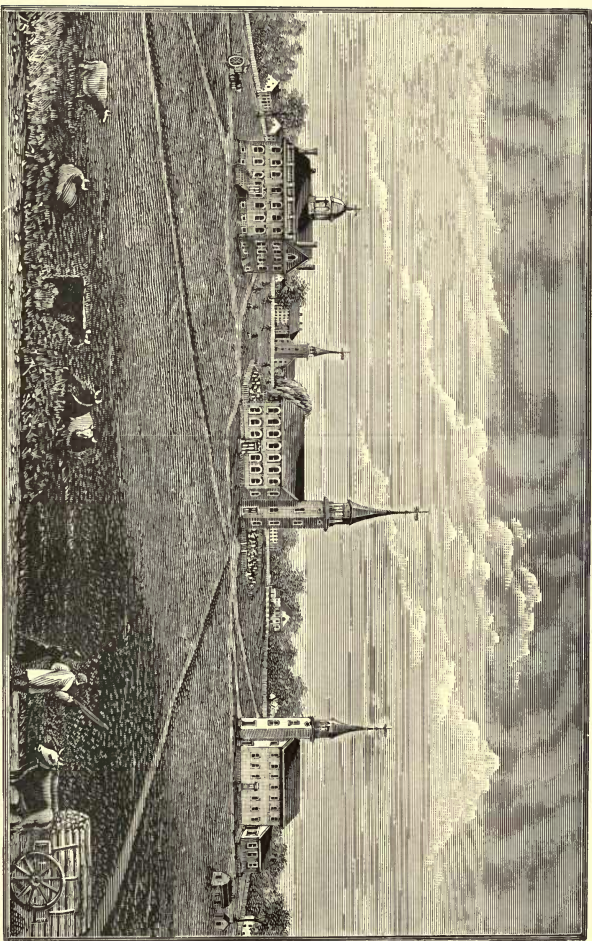
pended in 1758, "on account of the present calamitous and distressing war." In 1759 and 1760 they were public, but from 1761 to 1765 they were again suspended "by reason of the gross disorders which have become common on such occasions." From 1774 to 1781, the college being much depressed, and the students scattered most of the time, there were no public commencements. In the last named year they were resumed with special *éclat*. The commencement of that year was the first public commencement under President Stiles, and he has left a full account of it in his diary. The exercises were held as usual in the Brick Meeting-house on the Green. The procession was headed by the students; then followed the president, preceded by the beadle, and after these the reverend fellows, the two professors, "the tutors, ministers and other respectable persons." At the meeting-house there were disputations in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and even in English. There was also an anthem by the choir and a poem was delivered by Joel Barlow. Since that period there has been no break in the regular sequence of college commencements. All of them, from 1718 to 1894, have been held on the Green, and all of these, except two, in the meeting-house of the First Ecclesiastical Society. In 1813 and in 1814, while the present Center and North Churches were being erected, the commencement exercises were held in the Blue Meeting-house, on the corner of Elm and Church streets.

The different changes in the time for holding commencements may here be noted. From the beginning of the college till 1832, commencement day was on the second Wednesday of September. In that year it was changed to the third Wednesday of August. From 1842 till 1851 it was held on the third Thursday of August. In 1851 it was changed to the last Thursday in July. In 1867 it was again changed to the last Thursday but one in July. In 1871 it took another move to the last Thursday but two in July; in 1873 it was moved again to the Thursday after the last Wednesday in June, and in 1881 it was changed to the last

Wednesday in June, where it still remains. Having now become the recognized end instead of the beginning of the academic year, and having taken on a much wider character than that of an undergraduate festival, it would seem proper to drop its misleading name, "commencement," and to call it "University Day" or by some other appropriate title.

Colonial Commencement Festivities.

So far as known, the earlier commencement celebrations were of a scholastic and decorous character, but after several years the students began to introduce various preliminary exercises not on the official program, with a view to do greater honor to so important an anniversary. Among these was a custom of the freshmen, which began about 1731, to break the stillness of the preceding night by firing off the town cannon, which, according to ancient usage, stood on the Green, as shown in Wadsworth's map of 1748. The upper classes prepared for the occasion by bibulous festivities hardly less disturbing to the public peace. As early as 1737 the corporation voted as follows: "It having been observed that on ye commencement occasions there is great expense in spirituous distilled liquors in ye college which is justly offensive, for ye prevention thereof for ye future, no candidate for a degree nor any undergraduate shall provide or allow any brandy, rum or other spirituous distilled liquors to be drunk in his chamber during ye week of commencement." In 1746 it was farther voted that there should be "no kind of treat or entertainment made by or to the scholars, but only at the commencement, the quarter days, and the day on which the valedictory oration is pronounced [afterwards called "Presentation day], and on that day the seniors may provide and give away a barrel of metheglin and no more." In 1755 the cannon on the Green were still rousing people from their slumbers, and it was ordered, "that if any freshman shall



THE GREEN IN 1790.

From a Drawing in possession of the New Haven Colony Historical Society.

take part in firing the great guns at commencement his freshmanhip shall be continued a quarter of a year longer, and during that time he shall be obliged to go on errands, and not have liberty to send any freshman on errands, nor to wear a gown." There was an order against "the firing of squibs and crackers and other great disorders which have sometimes attended the elumination of the college on the night before commencement and also the ringing of bells contrary to law." In 1760 the corporation again found it necessary to pass a special code of rules to suppress "the vices and disorders attending commencement, to the great dishonor of the college, all which is occasioned by giving away of great quantities of strong drink." This code forbade "the purchasing of a pipe of wine by the candidates for a degree" and limited the quantity to "so much as the president should think proper." The president thought two gallons of wine for each candidate would be about the right quantity to enable him to make a creditable appearance the next day, but the class felt that with a tonic so meager in quantity and mild in quality they could not do themselves justice, and in that year twenty-six out of the graduating class of twenty-eight were denied a degree "for having each brought two gallons of rum into the college building without permission." This summary action had a sobering effect, and we are told that "all the culprits before mentioned offered a full confession of their crimes, which being publicly read in the meeting-house, was accepted, and through favor of the president and fellows they were admitted to a degree." On account of these "disorders," there was no public commencement the following year, but strange to say, the boisterous demonstrations on the Green and around the college were more tumultuous than ever. President Clap assured the public through the newspapers that the rioters were not students but "townspeople dressed in scholars' gowns to bring scandal on the college;" but notwithstanding this plausible

explanation, public commencements were not resumed till three years later. After this period, no conspicuous disorders appear to have attended the commencement season, but for many years commencements were said to resemble a training day more than a literary festival. "Eluminations" and fireworks the evening previous were in vogue till 1810 or later.

Literary Exercises at Early Commencements.

The exercises within the meeting-house on commencement day in pre-revolutionary times were as follows:

In the forenoon there was first a prayer by the president. Then came a salutatory oration in Latin, by one of the graduating class. Afterwards "syllogistic disputes," also in Latin, by two contestants, on different subjects connected with logic, rhetoric, ethics, mathematics, physics and metaphysics. In the afternoon similar disputations followed by the conferring of degrees by the president; and lastly the valedictory oration and a concluding prayer. In conducting the "syllogistic disputes," the disputants stood opposite each other in the side galleries of the meeting-house, "and shot their logic at each other over the heads of the audience." In 1770, a stage for the speakers was first erected, and in 1787 this form of disputation was changed for monologues, which continued to figure on the program, or "scheme," as "disputes" for many years afterwards. After 1780, President Stiles introduced English and Greek orations; also English "colloquies," or dramatic dialogues, often of a humorous character, which held their place until about 1840, and were generally regarded by the audience as the most interesting and profitable feature of the whole performance. Music as a part of the exercises first appeared in 1781, at which time an anthem was performed by the choir. Forenoon and afternoon sessions prevailed until 1869, beginning at eight o'clock in the morning and closing at about six in the afternoon, with an interruption

of two hours for the commencement dinner. Until about 1840, ladies and gentlemen sat together in the audience, with the natural result that the whispering and flirtation compelled the speakers to strain their vocal organs to a painful and dangerous degree. For the promotion of quiet the fair sex was relegated to the galleries, where, "tier on tier arrayed," they presented a brilliant and beautiful spectacle, like a vision of the angelic host at the time when "there was silence in heaven for the space of half an hour."

Other Commencement Exercises.

After the Revolution the custom grew up of having a ball on commencement evening. These balls were sometimes held in the State House, and we have an account of one in that building in 1784, which was a very brilliant affair. Eight hundred tickets were issued and the crowd was so great that dancing was impossible. The commencement balls were given irregularly after 1800 and were finally discontinued about 1840. At about the same time the literary features of commencement week were amplified so as to introduce several new exercises, which were generally held in one of the churches on the Green. These were a doctrinal sermon called the *Concio ad Clerum*, preached on Tuesday evening in the North Church by some leading divine selected for the occasion, and an oration on Wednesday before the undergraduate literary societies by a speaker of national reputation. These also fell out of use and were succeeded about 1846 by alumni meetings held on the college grounds, with other changes unnecessary to mention.

Old Associations cherished.

The use of the Green as a play-ground for more than two hundred years by the schools and college will be considered in another paper. This use was terminated by city ordinance in 1858. In 1895, when the commencement exercises in the Center Church were abolished, the last of the uses which linked the Green directly with college life was severed; and it may also be said that at about the same time the college itself, by merger into the university, had ceased to exist. Happily and suitably, however, the long association between the college and the Green is still made a subject of recognition in the annual commencement proceedings, for still on those occasions the procession, leaving the university campus, passes over to the Green and wends its course beneath the shadow of the venerable church edifice which, with its predecessors, has been so inseparably identified with the college history. It is fitting that these filial relations should be thus recalled, and it would give a pleasing emphasis to this recognition if, while the procession is crossing the Green, the bell of the old First Church should sound a note of greeting and reminiscence. Why, indeed, on these occasions should not all the churches on the Green, mother and daughters in unison, reviving a former custom, herald with mingled peal the march of the scholastic array? Such a feature of this academic festival would appropriately express the friendly sympathy between religion and learning which Yale has always been foremost to proclaim and cherish: that sympathy in whose spirit our forefathers, as soon as they planted their colony, established a school "for the training up of youth that through the blessing of God they might be fitted for publique service in church and commonweale."

NOTES TO PAPER No. VI.

NOTE 1 (page 182).

For the satisfaction of those who may be interested to know how this conclusion respecting the site of the first school-house has been reached, I will state my reasons for it. The town records show the enlargement and practical reconstruction of the first school-house in 1660, and there is no indication that another was built till 1718. In that year the town voted "to build a new school-house on some convenient place on the market place." In 1723 it voted that "the selectmen change away the old school-house for the new school-house with the undertakers for it provided they will relinquish their right in the old house when exchanged to the Town Parrish." By the "Town Parrish" is meant the First Ecclesiastical Society and by "the undertakers for it" must have been meant the trustees of the grammar school, who had an interest in the old school-house and who apparently had offered to take the new one off the town's hands. This new school-house was undoubtedly the "grammar school-house" which appears on Wadsworth's map, and the "old school-house" (presumably after repairs) was continued in use by the town for an English school. The records of the First Ecclesiastical Society show the maintenance of this public school after 1723 until 1755, when the Society voted "that the old English school-house be repaired or a new one built." That a new one was built appears from the General Assembly act of 1760 dividing property between the First and White Haven Ecclesiastical Societies, which awarded "the new brick school-house" to the two societies jointly. Thus it appears that "the old English school-house" was not superseded by its brick successor till 1755, and consequently the building shown in Wadsworth's map of 1748 as standing on the site which the brick school-house afterwards occupied must have been "the old English school-house" whose original construction dated back to 1643.

NOTE 2 (page 183).

This duty was faithfully performed by the selectmen for many years, as their records show. As late as 1808, by a statute passed in 1715, the selectmen of every town in Connecticut were directed to "make diligent inquiry of all housekeepers how they are furnished with bibles and to require each family to have one bible at least and more according to numbers and circumstances," and also "a suitable number of

orthodox catechisms and other good books of practical godliness and the like." Parents and masters were also required to instruct their children to "read and to learn some short orthodox catechism," and the selectmen were enjoined "to have a vigilant eye" on their brethren and neighborhoods "so that none of them suffer so much barbarism" as the disregard of these obligations, and to prosecute any persons who should neglect their duties in these respects.

NOTE 3 (page 188).

There were colored servants (probably native Africans) in several households of New Haven at an earlier date, as appears by references to "Antony, Mr. Eaton's neagar," and to "Matthew, Mr. Evans his neagar." So also there are allusions to Indians employed in the same capacity, as "Time, Mr. Hooke's Indian," and others, but it does not appear that servants of either class were bought and sold at that period as personal property.

NOTE 4 (page 196).

Soon after the brick school-house was built, the First Ecclesiastical Society, in consequence of its internal dissensions, was divided by an act of the General Assembly and a second society formed called "The White Haven Society." By the act (passed in 1760) "the new brick school-house and the bell" were apportioned to both societies jointly, "the school-house to be used for schooling by turns by each society quarterly." Apparently the feeling was so bitter between the two societies that they could not agree to educate their children together. In February, 1765, "upon the motion of a number of persons" the proprietors granted permission "to set up a new school-house on ye southern side of ye graves upon ye line which shall be stated for fencing sd graves;" and in April of the same year leave was granted to Leverett Hubbard and others to build a new school-house "at ye south end of ye new State House, east side, said house to be in a line with ye east line of ye State House and ye south end of sd house to joyn to the highway." Why these two additional school-houses should have been suddenly called for is not very clear. Possibly the Episcopalians, who had now begun to be numerous and influential, anticipated trouble with the grammar school trustees on account of the intolerant town vote of 1723. Possibly it was a result of the doctrinal disputes which were then rife in the White Haven Society, and which split it in two immediately afterwards. In 1769 the Fair Haven Society obtained liberty to build a meeting-house on the market place "on the same place where the brick school-house now is, if they will move the school-house to some other place, or if they prefer not to do this then to build on the south end of the school-house in a line with the brick meeting-house." The last named course was adopted, and neither of the two proposed school-houses was ever built, so that the brick school-house was left undisturbed and without a rival.

VII.

THE GREEN AS A MARKET PLACE.

When the early inhabitants of New Haven spoke of the Green as a "market place," they used the term with the broad signification which it then universally conveyed; meaning an open space for all public uses and gatherings whether of political, military, civic or business nature. In the crowded walled cities of the time, such an open space for general purposes was indispensable. Its most frequent use was for the daily or weekly market, yet this occupied it but a few hours of the day, and when the booths and benches were cleared away the area was devoted to miscellaneous activities and affairs. Here the citizens assembled to discuss news and politics; here orators and preachers aired their eloquence; here occurred public ceremonials, games and displays; here mobs collected and riots and revolutions began; and when it was deserted by the older generation, children made it their playground and "sitting in the market place, called to their fellows." Having in previous papers recalled the principal occasions of a political, religious and military character with which the Green has been identified, it only remains to review the business and miscellaneous features of its use as a market place. In this paper, therefore, I shall devote myself to its connection with public fairs and markets, with the discussion and regulation of trade, commerce and finance; with popular assemblages, whether for festive displays and celebrations, or in the spirit of tumult and disorder; and also to its use as a public playground.

Markets and Fairs.

As a place for holding public markets or fairs the experience of the Green has not been extensive. It had an early commencement, however, for in 1644, when the town was hardly more than a few log huts in the forest, the General Court ordered that there should be "two markets or fayres for cattel and other goods every year at New Haven, one on the third Wednesday in May and the other on the third Wednesday in September"; and it was further ordered that "lost goods be publicly cried on a faire day when the greatest concourse of people may be present and heare it." There is no evidence that the crier's voice was greatly strained to reach the farther edges of the crowd on these occasions, nevertheless more or less business seems to have been transacted at the fairs. They were also not neglected as places for flirtation, for in 1649 some gay triflers were obliged to explain to the court their motives in making presents "to Rebecka Turner at the faire," one of them having given her "lace for a hankercher" and the other "some cloth." Needless to say, these pleasant little gallantries were sharply discouraged by the court, and as fairs with little business and no flirtation were of no use to anybody, the attempt to maintain them was abandoned in 1655.

After 1655 it seems probable that no more markets or fairs were held on the Green until 1833. It was, however, in frequent use as the customary place for sheriff's sales by auction or "public vendue," as such proceedings were generally termed. The sale of Lois Tritton at the sign-post as a slave in 1825 has been referred to in another paper, and there may have been similar cases when slavery was a recognized institution. Sales of laborers, vagrants and criminals for limited terms of service, either under contract or as legal penalties, were not uncommon before the Revolution; and from 1763 to 1786 the town paupers were annually sold at auction on the State House steps, to such parties as would keep them at the lowest rates.

When the city government was organized in 1784, public attention was at once directed to the establishment of a market as a suitable city institution. There was already one market house in New Haven standing in George street at the end of Church. It is shown in Stiles' map of 1775 and is referred to in an advertisement in 1801 as "the old market place."

In April, 1785, a vote of the Common Council authorized the erection of a market building by private subscription "in Chapel street at the southeast corner of the Green." This building was put up and is said to have stood on the Green, but it was probably a small affair, and was superseded in the following year by the erection of a large market building by the city itself over the creek just south of the present Chapel street railroad bridge. In May, 1787, the Common Council ordered that "the three market houses which have been erected shall be continued and no others built." The building on the Green (if it was in fact on the Green, and not in the street) was probably little used and was removed about 1799. The city market maintained a languishing existence for many years in spite of repeated efforts to invigorate it, and especially in 1825. About 1830 the system as a city institution was abandoned and the market building was taken down in 1843.

The failure of these attempts to establish public markets in New Haven was perhaps partly owing to the fact that up to 1840 and later nearly every householder had a kitchen garden of his own, and raised a considerable part of the vegetables required for his own family use. From this general practice of horticulture arose in 1830 the New Haven Horticultural Society, which in coöperation with the County Agricultural Society revived in a notable manner, though in different form, the old colonial fairs on the Green, "for cattel and other goods." At these annual fairs the Horticultural Society exhibited for two days in the State House, which was handsomely decorated for the occasion, marvelous squashes and pumpkins, grapes and pears, with

other vegetables and fruits, and flowers in endless profusion and variety, all of home production, together with a large display of articles of local manufacture. The agricultural fair was held at the same time for one day only. The proceedings of this day began at 9 o'clock in the morning with a general peal of bells. Soon after long trains of ox teams from the surrounding towns began to arrive, drawing gaily decorated carts filled with bands of music and smiling damsels waving banners. Prizes were given for the best displays of working cattle and the result was really magnificent exhibitions of live stock. To the agricultural fair in 1843 there came from Derby 24 yoke of selected oxen; from Cheshire, 24 yoke; from East Haven, 66 yoke; from Hamden, 18 yoke; from Branford, 150 yoke; while Orange brought 151 yoke and took the prize. Thus on this occasion there were gathered on the Green from these six small towns over nine hundred of those splendid and classic creatures which are now almost as rarely seen on our streets as buffaloes, and which to the next generation will probably be known only by some stuffed specimen in the Peabody Museum. Pens were erected on both sides of Temple street, across the Green, and here were quartered the animals and fowls which were entered in competition for prizes. In the afternoon there was a plowing match, and a collation, and an address, and on the following day the Horticultural Society held an auction on the south steps of the State House. These fairs commenced on the Green in September, 1833, and continued till 1856. In that year the agricultural display was had at Grapevine Point, and the Horticultural Society, owing to limited means, discontinued its annual exhibition. This closed the record of the Green as a place for holding public fairs, except for an occasional charity bazaar held in the basement room of the State House.

Currency and Finance.

We now come to the wider uses of the Green as a market place, and will consider it in the light of a business and financial center—the place where for more than two hundred years matters of trade, commerce and industry were discussed and regulated.

Of these subjects those connected with currency and finance are of primary importance and should receive our first attention. The first financial legislation on New Haven Green was an order passed by the General Court in November, 1640, that “wampum shall goe in this plantation for 6 a penny.” For want of a sufficient circulating medium, business in the newly settled colony was soon brought to a system of barter, and in 1641 “corne, cattel, bever and worke,” were made a legal tender at prices established by the Court. In 1645 the General Court enacted as follows: “In order that commerce may be better carried on betwixt man and man where money is scarce, it is ordered that Spanish money called peeces of eight shall passe here as they doe in some other parts of the country at five shillings apiece; and that Indian wampum shall passe the white at six a penny and the blacke at three a penny; and some men being at present loathe to receive the blacke, it is ordered that in any payment under 20 shillings halfe white and half blacke shall be accounted currency paye, only if any question arise about the goodness of the wompum whether white or blacke, Mr. Goodyeare, if the parties repaire untou him, is intreated to judge therein.” Wampum had in fact about as uncertain a value as silver dollars at the present time, or state bank shin-plasters “before the war,” and the services of Mr. Goodyear as appraiser and counterfeit detector were doubtless in frequent demand. It consisted of small spiral shells, white or black, perforated for stringing, the black being the most valuable. But the wily aboriginal, concurring in the doctrine of some modern financiers, that volume of currency is

more important than quality, betook himself to dyeing inferior shells and small soft stones, and it is safe to presume that his civilized brother was not far behind him in similar wealth-creating devices. Strange to say, these commendable efforts to supply the community with money failed to bring public opulence; and in 1648, probably through some gold-bug influence, the General Court partially demonetized wampum by enacting that it "should not be forced upon any man for payment unless in some manner suitably stringed, and if any stone wampum be presented, it be broken." The value of wampum for paying debts being thus impaired, it came into high favor for church contributions, until its use for this purpose was also stopped by the Court. There was so little of any other circulating medium, however, that it continued to be employed in trade, though in diminishing proportions, for over fifty years and was in use for change as late as 1704.

Inferior substitutes for money and the requirements of foreign commerce soon caused specie to disappear from view and even small amounts of it were obtained with difficulty. In 1645 the New Haven delegates to the Congress of the New England Confederation were unable to leave until the authorities could persuade the Widow Wigglesworth to lend them £5 in silver, with copious protestation that "neither she nor her children should suffer by it." And on other similar occasions, no silver being procurable, the delegates were supplied with beaver, butter and other products to be sold in Boston in order to pay their expenses.

After 1680 the currency famine in New Haven was to some extent relieved by the circulation of Bay shillings, or "pine tree shillings," which were coined in Boston. Being lighter than the English shilling, it took six of them to equal the Spanish "piece of eight reals," which by the ordinance of 1645 had been rated at five English shillings, and which were intrinsically worth four shillings and sixpence. Thus it came to pass that the Spanish dollar of eight reals was afterward a six-shilling dollar in New Eng-

land, while in New York, where the Bay shillings did not circulate, it was an eight-shilling dollar, the real being called a shilling. Hence arose the distinction between "Yankee shillings" and "York shillings," so familiar fifty years ago, and the use of "nine-pences," and "fo'-pence-a'pennies," which then entered into nearly every calculation of local traffic.

After 1700, besides Bay shillings and English coins, the hard money in circulation (what little there was) was a promiscuous assortment of Spanish, Spanish-American, French, Dutch and Portuguese coins, which were rated differently in nearly all the North American colonies. This variety in valuation caused so much inconvenience to English merchants that in 1704 Queen Anne, by proclamation (afterward confirmed by act of Parliament), fixed a rating for each of the foreign coins so current, and ordered its general adoption. Thereafter these coins and all specie in circulation, and paper money redeemable in specie, were known as "Proclamation money," or more commonly "Prock money," down to the time of the Revolution, or later.

With all these different kinds of currency in use, shopping in New Haven was a very complicated process, and so Madame Knight, a Boston lady, found it when she made a visit here in 1704. She says: "The traders rate their goods according to the time and kind of money they are paid in, viz.: 'pay,' 'money,' 'pay as money,' and 'trusting.' 'Pay' is grain, pork, beef, etc., at the price set by the General Assembly for that year. 'Money,' is pieces of eight reals, or Bay shillings, or 'good hard money,' as silver coin is sometimes termed by them; also wampum or Indian beads, which serve for change. 'Pay as money,' is provisions as aforesaid, one-third cheaper than as the Assembly in general sets it; and 'Trust' as they and the merchants agree for time." She adds: "It seems a very intricate way of trade," and she probably made few purchases at the "bargain counters" of New Haven.

Currency Inflation.

In 1709, in order to provide funds for impending war, Connecticut, by an act of the General Assembly, passed on New Haven Green, embarked for the first time on the stormy sea of paper money. The voyage was long and disastrous, and it was not till 1756 that the colony brought its shattered financial bark into port. This was effected by an act of the Legislature, likewise passed at New Haven, for redeeming the outstanding colony bills at one-ninth of their nominal value. Notwithstanding the lessons of this experiment, only ten years later, after the Revolution had opened, the General Assembly at New Haven in October, 1776, again established a paper currency by declaring both state and continental bills to be money, and making them "a legal tender as money in all payments within this state." As the inevitable result, prices of all commodities rapidly rose, and by other acts passed at New Haven, a few months later, Mrs. Partington's broom was brought into requisition to sweep out the Atlantic. These acts were levelled at so-called "monopolizers and oppressors," and aimed at their circumvention by fixing a legal standard of prices. But the tide continued to swell and the broom was called into more frantic action. A law passed at New Haven in 1777 forbade any person whatever to buy or sell the necessaries of life except in small quantities for his own consumption, "till he had become known as a friend of freedom, had obtained a license, and taken the oath of fidelity." In 1778, by request of Congress, a convention of delegates from several states was held at New Haven in the State House, which revised the current prices of provisions and other supplies, and recommended the Legislatures of their several states to legalize the rates by them established. The State of Connecticut promptly did so, and in June, 1779, the citizens of New Haven, in town meeting assembled, voted, with a noble enthusiasm, that they

“would receive the continental money at par, equal to gold and silver” and “would freely sell all commodities for it at the same rates.” The resolution passed by 264 to 8, and it is needless to say that not one of the patriotic majority had the slightest intention of acting in accordance with his vote. Still the downfall of continental currency went on, and at New Haven in October, 1788, the General Assembly recognized its collapse by enacting that private contracts made at different periods of its decline should be settled at the currency quotations prevalent when the contracts were made. In October, 1794 (again at New Haven) the same principle of liquidation was adopted in the settlement of the state war debt then outstanding. From this time until after 1861 the financial legislation on the Green was of no historic importance.

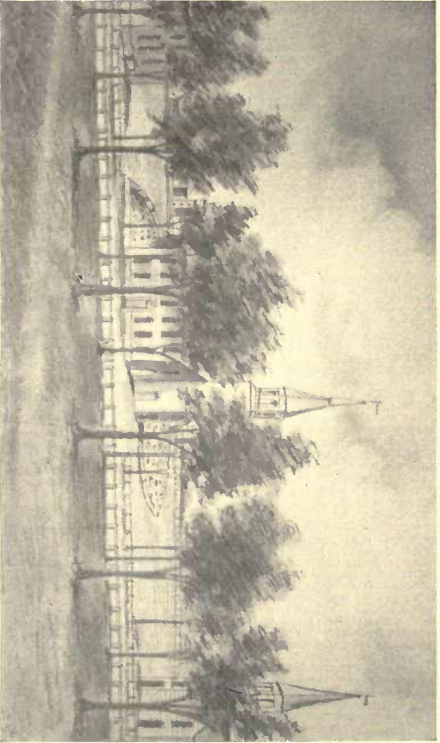
Copper Coinage.

Having thus disparaged the reputation of the Green by connecting it with acts of soft-money inflation, let us turn to the brighter page of its association with genuine coin. In October, 1785, the General Assembly of Connecticut, in session at New Haven, granted power to Samuel Bishop, James Hillhouse and others to establish a mint at New Haven for coining copper pennies. The mint was located on the water side near the present Water street park, and a large quantity of coins were struck there. These coins had on their face a man's head surrounded with the legend “Auctori. Connect.,” and on the reverse a figure of liberty with the abbreviation “Inde. et Lib.” As a business enterprise the mint was unsuccessful. The coins being too light, depreciated in value, and sold in New Haven at the rate of four or even six for a penny. In 1787 this mint began to strike the first coins that were issued by authority of the United States. These were copper cents of the pattern prescribed by act of Congress of the Confederation, July 6,

1787. They showed on one side a chain of thirteen links in a circle, within which was a smaller circle composed of the words "United States," enclosing the legend, "We are one." On the other side was a sundial with a sun above and the inscription, "Fugio, 1787," and below the dial the motto, "Mind your business." The significance of this device can only be conjectured. Possibly the sundial with the words "Fugio 1787" may refer to the then impending dissolution of the Confederation; while the motto, "Mind your business" is certainly suggestive of hard common sense. The coins from this mint were not uncommon in New Haven sixty years ago, and were then occasionally found on the site where the building had previously stood.

Weights and Measures.

After money, the measure of value, we naturally expect that weights and other measures of quantity will be considered and regulated on the market place. As early as 1644 the colony adopted a recommendation of the Congress of the New England Confederacy that the London standard of weights and measures should prevail throughout New England; and all persons were ordered to bring their weights and measures to the meeting-house on a certain day to be verified and marked. The law was careful to require that "every ell or yard should contain a thum's breadth over;" that "a hundred weight should be five score and twelve pounds;" and that "of all sorts of nails sold by the hundred six score should be allowed to the hundred." As scriptural authority for these required deviations from accuracy, a marginal note unblushingly cited Deuteronomy xxv, 14: "Thou shalt not have in thy house divers weights and measures, a great and a small; but thou shalt have a perfect and just weight; a perfect and just weight shalt thou have."



THE GREEN IN 1801.
From a Drawing owned by the New Haven Colony Historical Society.

High Prices Not Favored.

With the same careful regard for the interests of purchasers, the Court restricted the rates of profits to be made by shopkeepers in their local trade. In May, 1641, it was ordered that "commoditys well bought in England for ready money shall not be sold at retayle for above three pence in the shilling for proffit, and when sold by wholesale less proffit may suffice. Goods bought from vessels must not take proffit at over one and half-pence in the shilling by retale." At the same time prices were fixed for a large number of commodities and for various kinds of labor, and though this law was repealed in 1643, a case came before the Court in 1645 whose outcome showed that its spirit still survived. One of the three retail merchants of the town, a Mrs. Stolion, had a difference with Capt. Turner over a trade about a cow, and the gallant captain, finding the case not going in court quite to his satisfaction, turned the tables on his adversary by charging her with asking extortionate prices for her goods. Of this heinous practice on her part he cited numerous particulars, and with great solemnity appealed to the court "whether she ought not to be dealt with as an oppressor of the commonweale." This ponderous appellation so deeply impressed the court that it quite forgot to decide the controversy between the parties, and proceeded to bind Mrs. Stolion over for trial as a person dangerous to the peace and safety of the body politic. Happily for the commonwealth and probably for Mrs. Stolion also, before her case was next reached, she was called to settle her own last account before a tribunal more likely to be impartial than one composed of her own customers; and it is to be hoped that she found it less exacting in its dealings with her than she seems to have been in her own methods of doing business.

After this merciful interposition of Providence, the community breathed more freely, but the warning did not pass

unheeded. When the colony laws were codified by Governor Eaton in 1655, one was inserted under the title "Oppression," which forbade any person "to take excessive wages for work or unreasonable prices for commodities" under penalty of fine or imprisonment; but judiciously made no reference to oppressors who might obtain goods or labor at prices unreasonably cheap. This law continued substantially unchanged on the statute books of the colony and state until after 1808. As nobody was ever prosecuted under it, we must conclude that Mrs. Stolion has never had any successor here who oppressed the commonweal by charging high prices for goods or services. Doubtless the salutary lesson conveyed by her fate accounts for the extremely low cost of living for which New Haven is now and always has been so enviably distinguished.

Foreign Commerce Encouraged.

When we turn our attention to commerce and manufactures as subjects of public consideration in the market place, we find a copious record, and it will only be possible to review its most important features in a cursory manner. External commerce was, in fact, the chief motive for the settlement of New Haven, and this purpose was reflected in the choice of its name. It was expected that furs would be a principal article of export, and doubtless Beaver Pond, which received its name in the very first years of the colony, was relied upon to furnish a considerable part of the supply. But as that now charming incipient park had not then become a common receptacle for defunct cats and dogs and other extinct fur-bearing animals, its resources as a felt-producing region was soon exhausted and attention was turned to the country about Delaware Bay as likely to be of more lasting productiveness. Accordingly an extensive tract was purchased there from the same honest Indians who had previously sold it to the

Dutch and the Swedes, and who subsequently sold it to William Penn, and a trading post was established there, the tribulations of which were a fruitful subject of discussions on the Green for fifteen years. The traders were interfered with and driven away by the Dutch and the Swedes, and in spite of all efforts of New Haven to maintain the enterprise it was finally abandoned. In the meantime a respectable commerce in other goods than furs had been built up, and the records abound with references to the trade carried on with the Barbadoes, the Bermudas, the Azores and with the several North American colonies. The articles exported were agricultural products, packed meat, ship bread, leather and shoes. With these, tobacco and beaver skins were obtained in Virginia, and hides, rum and sugar in the West India ports, and these in turn were sent to England to be exchanged for commodities needed in New Haven. To insure the merchantable quality of goods exported, the General Court annually appointed leather sealers, meat packers, corn viewers, bread inspectors and other officials with full powers of seizure and confiscation in case of faulty material, weight or workmanship. In 1647 Goodman Meigs and another party were censured by the court after a long trial for using bad leather and poor work in the manufacture of shoes which were to go out of the colony, "as if," said the court, "the Rules of Righteousness reached not to other places and countries." So when Mr. Allerton and other exporting merchants in 1654 complained of a baker in Milford for furnishing "bad biskitt and flower," whereby they had sustained great damage in trying to dispose of their goods at Virginia and Barbadoes, and the reputation of the colony there had also suffered, the court sent for the delinquent baker and warned him that if flour or bread proved bad thereafter through his fault, he would be held liable for the consequences.

Ship-building was an early and important industry in New Haven Colony, and laws were passed by the court for the protection of timber suitable for that purpose. Most

of the vessels built here were of small dimensions, but the records refer to a "great shippe" which was launched in October, 1646, and to a "ship" which was on the stocks in 1648. Neither of them, however, was "the Great Shippe," otherwise known as Lamberton's ship, which sailed away in January, 1646, and whose ghost is famous in history, though its name is lost in oblivion. Lamberton's ship was built in Rhode Island, as Mr. Pierpont informs us, but he does not give her name. She was owned by four persons called "the feoffees" and was chartered and freighted by another association denominated "The Company of Merchants of New Haven." So much we gather from the report of a law-suit which was brought after her departure against the Merchants' Company about a set of blocks furnished to the ship, it being a disputed question whether they or the feoffees were liable to pay. But even this report, though lengthy and minute, does not mention the name of the ship. What is more remarkable still, nowhere in either town or colonial records nor in any contemporary document emanating from New Haven, is there any allusion to her origin, loading or departure, or to her mysterious fate, nor a word relating to the weird apparition which two and one-half years later so deeply agitated the community and sent a thrill of awe through New England. But for the interest which the story awakened in Massachusetts, Mr. Pierpont's account, furnished to Cotton Mather fifty years later, would never have been written, and we should be without a scrap of local information or tradition respecting one of the most important, tragic and dramatic episodes in the whole history of New Haven.

The other "great shippe," which in 1646 was owned by the same feoffees, was called "The Fellowship." She is referred to several times by that name in the town and colonial records and was making voyages as late as 1652.

The loss of Lamberton's ship was a killing blow to New Haven's hopes of commercial prosperity. Nevertheless

a foreign and coastwise trade, mostly in small vessels of from twelve to forty tons burden, was carried on for a generation or two thereafter. This trade had but slight relations with the market place, and gradually diminished till 1740, when the entire fleet of this port consisted of two small coasters and one West India vessel.

Manufactures Encouraged.

In the meantime the necessity for a development and variation of domestic industries was becoming more and more pressing. The policy of England to discourage manufacturing as well as commercial enterprise in her North American colonies was exercised with growing stringency and was borne with increasing impatience. On February 22, 1763, a town meeting held in the market place passed a long resolution of which the leading features were as follows: "That it is expedient for the town to take all prudent and legal measures to encourage the produce and manufactures of this colony, and to lessen the use of superfluities from abroad;" also "that we will be careful to promote the saving of linen and other materials for making paper in this town." The importance and significance of this vote can hardly be overstated. It was New Haven's first response to measures of the British government repressive of colonial manufactures and commerce. It marks the beginning of that great revolution in colonial sentiment toward the mother country which resulted in political independence; and so far as New Haven is concerned, it was the first step in that mighty industrial progress which in little more than a century has placed the United States foremost among manufacturing nations, and New Haven among the chief manufacturing towns of the United States. It was a curious coincidence that such a vote should have been adopted on the anniversary of Washington's birthday, and by another remark-

able coincidence, as if to point the way and supply the agencies by which the coming republic was to rise to industrial and political greatness, a vessel arrived in port a few months later with a mixed cargo of coals and Irishmen. It was the first importation in bulk of either and both were too much in advance of the age to be appreciated.* What became of the coal is unknown, but the Irishmen were taken to Stamford and there sold for terms of service, probably in pursuance of contract, to pay the cost of their transportation. How many of them were immediately elected to office does not appear, but it is certain that from that time forth denunciations of old England and a demand for home rule became more and more vehement. In 1768 and 1770 other town meetings voted measures to restrict importations in order to cripple British commerce and promote domestic production. In the latter year "the Traders and other Inhabitants of New Haven" also held a meeting in the market place at which they agreed to boycott New York merchants for their halting patriotism and to transfer their trade to Philadelphia and Boston. In September, 1770, a convention of delegates from different parts of Connecticut met in the State House to concert measures for encouraging non-importation and home manufactures, and a committee of thirty-eight members was also appointed "to consider the commercial interests of New Haven."

Internal Commerce Promoted.

During the Revolution the commerce of New Haven practically ceased, but it revived immediately on the return of peace in 1783. At that time and until the United States

*It must be confessed that New Haven was remarkably slow in perceiving the inestimable value of Hibernian assistance in the conduct of civic affairs. Even as late as 1854 the Common Council laid on the table a petition of the Irish adopted citizens for the appointment of some of their number to be special constables. Happily since that date our city has amply atoned for its previous obtuseness in this respect.

constitution took effect in 1788, New Haven was a free port; hence the device on our city seal of a ship under full sail with the motto "Mare Liberum." During the long European wars which followed the French Revolution and until the close of our own war with Great Britain in 1815, there was no lack of town and popular meetings, or of state legislative action on the Green having reference to commercial interests. The most famous of these proceedings were the town meetings held in 1808, 1809 and 1814, at which vigorous resolutions were passed in condemnation of the long embargo and of the non-importation acts which followed it. During this period the flourishing maritime commerce of New Haven was completely destroyed, and it never regained its previous relative importance. For this and other reasons the Green has been since 1815 but little associated with matters of foreign trade. The interests of internal and domestic commerce, however, which have grown to such magnitude in the last fifty years, have been the frequent subject of discussion in our central market place. First in order came the proceedings relating to navigation by the Farmington canal. In 1822 a town meeting, appropriately held on the first of April, enthusiastically endorsed the project. In 1829 a city meeting voted a stock subscription of \$100,000, and two years later another meeting, with great public spirit, pledged the city's credit for \$100,000 more. By 1845 a million and quarter of dollars had been sunk in the enterprise. Reorganizations had converted the stock into water, while leaks and washouts had dried up the canal and not a dollar had been received as dividends except by a stockholder who annually mowed a piece of the towpath and sold the hay. As a navigation scheme it evidently could not be floated any longer, and in 1846 a charter to lay a railway along its bed was granted by the legislature assembled on New Haven Green. This railway track was the first to be carried through the central part of the city, and as it followed the bed of the canal it lay below

the level of the streets, and other railroads subsequently built to connect with it necessarily adopted the same plan of construction. We may therefore credit the old canal with preventing scores of dangerous grade crossings in the heart of our city, the expense of removing which would have equalled the amount invested in it; and if to this be added the value of the experience it brought us bearing on city subscriptions to business enterprises, we may feel on the whole a great respect for its memory.

The development of the New Haven railway system between 1840 and 1860 gave rise to several public meetings in the basement of the State House. Some of them were held to discuss the preservation of our Naugatuck valley trade by aiding in the construction of a road to Derby, which by some fatuity was at that time neglected, to New Haven's serious loss. A city meeting was held in the same place December 22, 1849, to express a righteous indignation at the nefarious course of the Hartford and New Haven Railroad Company, which by the insidious purchase of a certain "peddler's lot" had blocked the extension of the Canal Railroad to Springfield and thereby maliciously prevented the diversion of a large volume of business from its own line to that of its more popular rival.

The regulation of the liquor traffic between 1850 and 1860 caused many boisterous meetings on the Green, but these were of a civic character rather than in regulation of trade, and have been more appropriately referred to in another paper.

Fourth of July Celebrations.

Turning now to uses of the market place other than those connected with business, we come to popular gatherings and demonstrations. In previous papers I have referred to such occasions of a civic, political, educational, religious or moral nature, and will now speak first of anni-

versary and other jubilee celebrations. Of these which occurred before the Revolution we have no reports, and our review must therefore date from the Declaration of Independence. There is no certainty that the Fourth of July was publicly celebrated in New Haven for two or three years after 1776, but we learn from Dr. Stiles' diary that in 1779 such an observance was only prevented by the British invasion. Since that time the anniversary, with but two or three known exceptions, has been greeted on the Green by at least the raising of the national flag, the ringing of bells and artillery salutes, morning and evening. For the first thirty or forty years whenever the day was specially observed, there was generally a procession to the Brick Meeting-house, where both a sermon and an oration were delivered, followed by a dinner in the State House or tavern, with toasts and speeches and an abundant flow of the spirit of '76 as well as of other kinds. In 1798 and again in 1802, there was an interesting additional feature, in the form of a celebration by the ladies of New Haven on their own account. The following is an abridgment of the *Connecticut Journal's* report of the proceedings. "At five o'clock the ladies of all ages met at the New Gardens and drank tea under a bower provided for the occasion." Madame Wooster presided and the following toasts were given: First, The Spirit of '76; second, The President of the United States; third, The Hero in the Shades of Mt. Vernon; fourth, The Rights of Woman, may they be respected by the men of all ages; fifth, May all that is amiable in woman characterize the daughters of America; sixth, The worthy ladies of the late and present presidents. A new patriotic song was sung by the ladies and gentlemen present to the acclamations of many hundreds of their fellow citizens. The editor gallantly adds: "The gentlemen who have been accustomed to celebrate the Fourth of July will recollect with gratitude that the ladies, fully alive to the peace and honor of the nation, kindly lent their aid to heighten the splendor of that glad day by an assemblage

of as much beauty, elegance and patriotism as this city ever witnessed." It is a pity that this unique celebration was at the foot of Court street and not on the Green, but it is none the less worthy of applause and imitation. For sixty-four years after the Declaration of Independence, no Fourth of July procession was deemed complete without the presence of at least one Revolutionary veteran, but this feature ended with 1850, at which time six venerable survivors were all that could be mustered from New Haven and the neighboring towns. A sad accident marred the festivities of this occasion, a little girl being instantly killed on the Green in the afternoon by the wad fired from one of the cannon.

Centennial Celebrations.

The centennial anniversary of Washington's birthday in 1832 was observed with great éclat, but hardly with great unanimity. Party and sectarian feeling then ran high and three celebrations were the consequence. There was a College and Henry Clay celebration with a procession, and an oration in the North Church. There was also an orthodox and anti-Jackson celebration with an oration at the Center Church, and a dinner at the Franklin House on the corner of Church and Crown streets. And thirdly, there was a celebration by citizens who were Jacksonian in politics and liberalists in religion. These last named gentlemen having been refused the use of the Methodist and Baptist churches, assembled in the City Hall and were there addressed by a Universalist clergyman; after which they dined at Washington Hall, where they toasted Washington, Jackson and Van Buren and "roasted" intolerant "priests," to their entire satisfaction and with great applause.

Another centennial celebration occurred April 25, 1838, that being the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of New Haven. Great interest was felt on this important occasion and it was observed in an appropriate and impressive manner. A procession formed in the morning at the

south portico of the State House, and for the first time in the history of public celebrations in this town, the school children, who numbered about 1,500, were admitted to participate. After proceeding to the corner of George and College streets, where the first settlers landed, and there pausing for religious exercises, the march was resumed, ending at the Center Church, where the principal observances of the day took place. Two literary features of this celebration have taken a distinguished and lasting place in New Haven letters, the Historical Address by Professor Kingsley, and the Forefathers' Hymn by Rev. Dr. Bacon.

Children's Jubilees.

The pleasing and beneficial practice of including children in public celebrations was afterwards followed up and extended. The first distinctively children's jubilee in New Haven was held July 23, 1851. Fourteen Sunday schools, and all other children who desired to join, assembled on the Green in the afternoon, and after a short march, returned to the Green, where seats had been prepared under the trees in front of the churches. Refreshments were served from a table close by, after which there were religious exercises and addresses and the children sang hymns to the accompaniment of a brass band. In 1855 was the first children's Fourth of July celebration, which was arranged by Professor Jepson. There was a charming procession of juveniles, which displayed emblematical groups and tableaux, and a patriotic concert by six hundred children on the north steps of the State House. Six years later, July 4, 1861, Professor Jepson organized a much larger and more impressive demonstration. The first great battle of the Civil War was then impending, and the public excitement was intense. Thousands of children in procession with floats, which exhibited the Daughters of Columbia, the Goddess of Liberty supported by the loyal States, and other symbolical groups, marched through the principal

streets to the north steps of the State House, where they sang patriotic songs in chorus to a vast concourse of people. Then followed addresses by Governor Buckingham and other distinguished speakers. Since 1861 we have been repeatedly indebted to Professor Jepson for similar beautiful and inspiring demonstrations, but they fall within a period beyond the chronological limits of this paper.

Atlantic Cable Celebration.

Probably the three most conspicuous and enthusiastic general celebrations which New Haven Green ever witnessed prior to 1861, were those at the conclusions of peace, in 1783, and in 1815, and that at the completion of the first Atlantic telegraph cable in 1858. Of these the first two have been chronicled in a previous paper. The cable celebration took place on the 17th of August, 1858. It had been expected that the first messages over the line, that of the Queen to the President and his reply, would be transmitted the evening previous, and great preparations had been made for an illumination and other public rejoicings as soon as three cannon shots on the Green should announce that the dispatch from the Queen had been received. Owing to difficulties in working the line, however, the Queen's message was not announced by the cannon until half-past one in the morning. Nevertheless, even at that hour the fire companies turned out at the signal, and collected, with a large crowd of citizens, on the Green. Bonfires were lighted in Chapel and Church streets, and the messages between the Queen and the President were read to a cheering multitude by our enthusiastic fellow citizen, Joseph Sheldon, Esq., in clarion tones, like the voice of a silver trumpet. A procession was then formed, abundantly supplied with drums, horns and other sleep-murdering devices, which marched about the city, calling Mayor Galpin and other victims from their beds, while a steam calliope in full blast effectually helped to make the town

cheerful till sunrise. On the following evening, the grand demonstration which had been planned was carried out with extraordinary universality and enthusiasm. One hundred guns on the Green at six o'clock began the proceedings, and fireworks followed as soon as darkness set in. Enormous crowds covered the Green, and blocked the adjacent streets. Every dwelling and public building glittered with illuminations, and transparencies abounded on every side, with appropriate emblems and mottoes galore. East Rock blazed with bonfires; fire companies and other organizations of every name, with bands of music, paraded the streets, shooting off rockets and roman candles; the bells rang their loudest peals, and the continuous howl of the steam calliope pervaded every corner of the city and made life a burden from Mount Carmel to Long Island. Possibly the enthusiasm of this celebration might have abated somewhat had it been known that the cable had "died in the burning" and that the two dispatches which were alleged with more or less veracity to have been transmitted over it were to remain forever the sum total of its achievements. Yet when we consider that the first Atlantic cable, though a failure, proved that electric signals could be sent across the ocean, and thus ensured the realization of future success with all its stupendous consequences to mankind, we must agree that the rejoicings of New Haven were neither misplaced nor excessive.

Mobs and Riots.

With regard to popular gatherings on the Green of a disorderly and tumultuous character, there are, happily, few to be chronicled. Up to 1824, with the exception of a few fights between students and town roughs, which, commencing elsewhere, boiled over upon the Green, there is no record of any riotous demonstration upon it worthy of notice. In January, 1824, however, occurred that memorable event in the history of New Haven known as the Medi-

cal College riot. Owing to the discovery that the grave of a young lady in West Haven Cemetery had been rifled, suspicion turned toward the Medical College, then situated on the corner of Grove and Prospect streets. An excited crowd collected on the Green, and, having obtained possession of one of the town cannon, advanced upon the medical building. The militia were called out, and held the crowd at bay, while the building was searched by a committee. Soon the committee reappeared, bearing the mutilated body, which had been found beneath the pavement in the cellar. Intense excitement followed, and only the firm front of the military prevented the destruction of the edifice. The body was borne to the Green, where a great procession formed and attended it back to West Haven, where it was again laid to rest. It was many years before the horror of this affair faded out of the public mind. One person was convicted and imprisoned for participation in the outrage, and a stringent law was passed to prevent its recurrence.

Another occasion on which a college building narrowly escaped destruction at the hands of a mob collected on the Green took place March 17, 1854. A fight between students and town boys at the close of a theatrical entertainment in the Exchange building had attracted a crowd of roughs, who thronged about the students as they retired up Chapel street toward the college. Bricks and stones were thrown, and pistols fired. A rowdy seized a student, and was instantly stabbed, falling back dead among his comrades. His body was carried into the Glebe building, while the students fought their way toward the campus. A fire alarm was rung, and the crowd soon swelled to a furious mob, which brought out a cannon, and planting it opposite South College, proceeded to load it to the muzzle with powder and missiles. While this operation was going on at one end of the cannon, Captain Lyman Bissell of the city police force, at the other end, unrecognized in the darkness, was quietly plugging up the vent

with a sharpened stick, and before this obstacle could be removed the Mayor arrived with sufficient force to restore order. The student who used the dirk was never identified.

A collision on the Green between students and firemen, which, however, did not approach the dimensions of a riot, occurred October 30, 1841, at the first annual review of the New Haven Fire Department. The firemen had laid a line of hose across the Green, which was repeatedly interfered with by the students, who were playing football. A fight ensued, in which the students were worsted. Later in the day the students interrupted a banquet of the firemen in the basement of the State House, and after a second conflict were again driven off the Green. The following night they broke into an engine house near the college, and greatly injured the apparatus, a proceeding for which the college authorities promptly paid a handsome sum in damages.

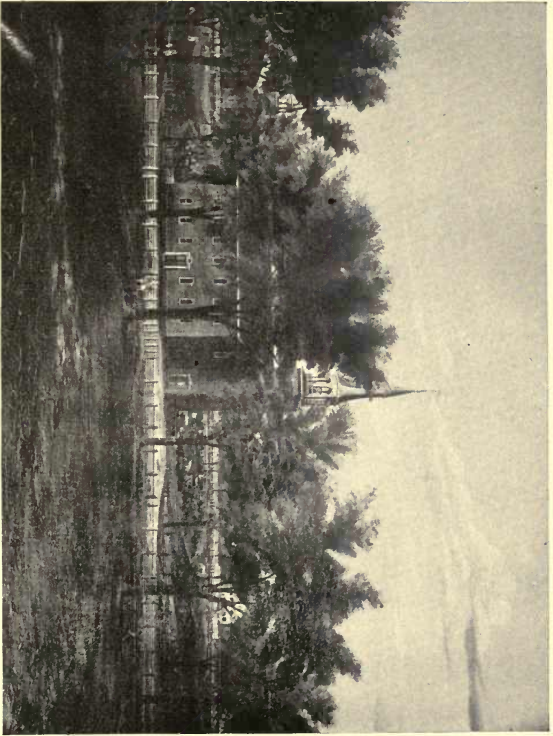
Fire Department Parades.

The annual parades of the Fire Department on the Green, which began under the enlivening circumstances just related, deserve a more extended notice, as they were for twenty years among the most important and brilliant of New Haven's public spectacles. They took place in mid-summer or early Fall, and always attracted great crowds. There were eight fire engines in the department, manned by volunteer companies of fifty or sixty men each, besides hose and ladder companies, with their machines. These all turned out in trim uniforms, with decorated engines, and after review and inspection there was an exhibition of playing, the steeple of the Center Church being generally selected for "wetting down." On July 22, 1853, this parade was extended in its scope by inviting companies from other towns and cities to take part. A great procession was marshaled on the Green and marched through the streets in six divisions, with twenty brass bands. After a review by the city authorities, a dinner for two thousand five hun-

dred persons was served on the Green under a canvas pavilion erected for the purpose. Then followed a competitive contest between some of the visiting companies for prizes offered by the New Haven Fire Department, in which a Providence company came off victorious. In September, 1856, this tournament was repeated on a larger scale, lasting three days. In the procession of the second day, forty companies paraded, including one from Chicago. There were seven divisions and the line contained thirty-eight engines and two thousand five hundred men. In the afternoon twenty-five of the visiting companies competed for prizes. The liberty pole was pieced out to a height of two hundred feet and the engines played upon it successively through four hundred and fifty feet of hose. A Stamford company won the first prize of \$500 by throwing a stream upon the pole to the height of one hundred and fifty-three feet. The New Haven companies did not compete with their guests, but the proud fact is recorded that on the following day they put their own machine to work and threw a stream to the height of one hundred and fifty-five feet, thus easily beating the victors. These annual exhibitions came to an end in 1861, when the volunteer companies with their hand machines were disbanded and a paid department with steam fire engines took their place.

The Green as a Play-ground.

It only remains to speak of the use of the Green as a play-ground; a use which as respects most market places is merely incidental, but which in the case of the Green was recognized as a legitimate right for two hundred and twenty years. The first recorded reference to such use was in 1645, when it was provided that "the soldiers after their military exercises were over might 'play at stole-bale, quoits, nine pins and such like games,'" and with a view to enhance their enjoyment of these recreations it was further requested that one of the elders should be present to discourse to



THE GREEN IN 1810.

From a Painting in the rooms of the New Haven Colony Historical Society.

them on some improving topic. As there was a public or a private school nearly continuously on the Green for more than two centuries, its use as a play-ground by the boys during all that period was equally continuous, and there is no reason to doubt that they availed themselves of it for that purpose for all it was worth. This theory is confirmed by a vote of the town passed January 27, 1827: "It being propounded that ye boys playing in the market place is mischeivous, for by that means the meeting-house windows are shamefully broken, for the preservation whereof it is Resolved by this town that for the future ye boys shall not be allowed to play in ye market place within twenty rods of ye meeting-house on ye penalty of twelve pounds for every such offense and all damages that shall by them at any time be done to ye meeting-house. Voted in the affirmative." Probably the town authorities had little better success in enforcing this ordinance than they had in suppressing the irreverent hilarity of boys inside the meeting-house on Sundays, perhaps the most prolific subject of legislation to be found in the town records. How many windows of the meeting-house and other public buildings were "shamefully broken" by accident in two hundred years cannot be easily estimated, but there was at least one case in which such damage was done with panes-taking deliberation. This was on a Saturday night in 1835, when the town was suddenly aroused from its slumbers by a tremendous explosion, and the next morning it was discovered that a heavily-loaded cannon had been discharged by some vivacious students in College street directly opposite the State House, whereby that unoffending edifice had been deprived of one hundred and thirty-five panes of glass at one fell swoop. Breaking the meeting-house windows, however, was not the only manner in which schoolboys utilized the sanctuary for purposes of amusement. In 1825, John Beers, a pupil of the Lancasterian School, which was then kept in the basement of the Methodist Church, on two successive days climbed the lightning rod of the Center Church steeple and seated

himself on the weathercock. This exploit of course turned the thoughts of all the other boys to aspire with a similar vane ambition, and the attempts to imitate it became so numerous that the church committee bent and spiked the rod in such a way as to prevent a repetition of the feat, wisely reflecting that sparing the rod might result in spoiling a boy. Those of my auditors who were New Haven boys fifty or more years ago will recall youthful pranks without number connected with the churches, the State House and the tall grass which then grew to be from twelve to eighteen inches high, and the sports which were then habitually played by boys in companies on the Green—games like “come away,” “snap the whip,” and others now apparently obsolete among the youth of New Haven. The use of the State House hill for coasting purposes has ceased so recently that it seems superfluous to refer to it, and yet there are thousands living in New Haven to-day who never saw the State House hill, and could not correctly locate its position. The infrequent skating ponds on the lower Green occasionally collect the juveniles for sport as in the olden time, and supply the last surviving example of the use of the market place as a schoolboy’s play-ground.

College Athletics on the Green.

When we come to the use of the Green as a play-ground for the students of Yale College, we approach the grand and inspiring theme of college athletics and prepare to unfold the origin and trace the progress of the present prosperity and glory of Yale. Unfortunately, however, the chapter which treats of this subject during the period covered by these chronicles must be one of disappointment and humiliation. The cause is found in the influence of two absurd theories which then prevailed and which postponed the rise of genuine athletics for at least a century. The first of these radical misconceptions was that the principal purpose of college athletics should be physical exercise

as a means of bodily invigoration, to be cultivated by all students alike and especially by those of deficient strength or delicate constitution. The second error was that the chief end of games and sports in an educational institution should be recreation and exercise and not to gain glory or make money. It was not then understood that genuine college athletics consist in the artificial training of a dozen or two selected giants to endure the tremendous rush and strain of a few minutes' desperate struggle with a rival team of Samsons once or twice a year in a public exhibition for gate money; in excluding or discouraging from organized college games all students who by reason of inferior vigor most need to practice them; and that the only use to which the great body of students can be put as participants in the public contests is that of encouraging their champions and disconcerting their opponents by cheering and jeering in the right places. As a consequence of these lamentable mistakes of our ancestors, it follows that we find in those benighted times no records of glorious victories gained or disastrous defeats by college teams on land or water accompanied by lists of contestants killed, crippled or permanently injured by collisions, overstraining or exhaustion. There is also an utter absence from the newspapers of that period of daily bulletins such as now edify the public for weeks before every important athletic contest, containing sweet-faced portraits of the demigods who are to take part, together with minute details relating to their size, weight and bodily condition, and current quotations of the betting market, and also the cheering intelligence that "big money is being put up by the sons of Eli for the honor of Old Yale." It also resulted from those mistaken views that the games and pastimes which were then in vogue were of a crude, juvenile and unscientific character. The rowing clubs in their simplicity made use of boats so clumsy in their build that they were not liable to capsize or founder if taken outside of a mill pond; and so little did they understand the art of rowing that in their practice and racing contests they

actually wore a few shreds of clothing. Football and handball were played simply for recreation and not with the sole view of scoring points; hence there was an entire neglect of subtle and secret tricks to be sprung on an unsuspecting adversary. They were so primitive also that the players did not need to be encased in steel cages or enveloped with cotton bales; nor did they ever prepare for the games by running about the streets in gangs for weeks in advance, clad in the graceful costumes of Feejee Islanders.

In fact, so little importance was attached for the first hundred years of Yale College to the sublime study of "college athletics," that we have no information what sports were commonly practiced by the students, though we know by tradition that the Green was used by them as their regular play-ground. A picture of the Green made just before 1800 shows a number of students near the corner of Chapel and College streets apparently playing football, and a picture of the college buildings under date of 1807 contains a group unquestionably engaged in that pastime. Wicket and quoits were also played on the Green between 1820 and 1840, but not later. After 1840 football came again into prominence, and was played daily at the noon hour by kicking the ball promiscuously back and forth, everybody joining in who chose to. On Wednesday and Saturday afternoons impromptu games between sides would often be arranged, a hundred or more players taking part. Between 1840 and 1854 there was nearly every year a grand annual contest between the Freshman and Sophomore classes, in a series of three test games, all played on the same afternoon. These rough and tumble scrambles took place on the upper Green, the upper classes and sometimes representatives of the fair sex being collected on the south portico of the State House, as spectators. They came to an end in 1854, by edict of the faculty, ostensibly on account of their roughness, but really because complaint was beginning to be made of the inconvenience which they caused to the public. This inconvenience had, in fact, begun to

attract attention several years previously. In 1848, when the Methodist Church was removed from the Green, a vote was passed in city meeting that that part of the Green "should never be occupied by the students of any institution or any other individuals as a play-ground." In the same year the Common Council appointed a committee to confer with the college authorities for the suppression of football playing on the Green altogether, but the faculty objected so strenuously that the movement was not pursued. Ten years later, however, the blow could no longer be averted, and in February, 1858, a city by-law was passed which forbade not only the playing of football but of all other athletic games in the streets and squares of the city. By this ordinance the record of the Green as a public play-ground for the practice of games or sports was brought to a final and abrupt conclusion.

The Passing of the Market Place.

After the courts and city offices were removed to the new city hall in 1861, there were left to the Green but few of the features which had belonged to it in its ancient character as a market place. The town and city meetings indeed continued to be held for several years longer in the damp, dingy and malodorous apartment in the basement of the State House which was dignified with the appellation "the Town Hall," and the legislature sat biennially in the upper story of the same building until 1876. When these honors also departed, the last of the functions ceased which had marked the Green as the center of New Haven's business and political activities. In the evolution of the town from a rural village to a bustling city, the market place had become transformed into a simple public square, and while in this capacity it still continues to be the arena for public gatherings and displays, it has also taken on a new character, that of a resting and breathing place for the people. Never until a very recent period has it shown in its daily

appearance the spectacle which it now exhibits on summer afternoons, when its verdant lawns are sprinkled with little children and their watchers, and all the seats beneath its spreading trees are filled with refugees from stifling streets and crowded tenements, who come to the Green as the only retreat where they can enjoy the blessings of air and space and restful quiet. If former generations commended the forethought of our ancestors in reserving an area so ample for the public uses of a straggling hamlet, how should we rejoice that they left such liberal space for recreation and repose in the center of a teeming population! It is true that as the city has expanded far beyond their anticipations, the Green as its only park has become insufficient for its needs. But when we go back in imagination to 1638 and picture to ourselves the cramped market places of even the largest European cities as they then existed, and when we further consider how few American towns which were founded within two hundred years after New Haven's settlement can show an original central square or common at all approaching the dimensions of our ancient Green, we cannot fail to honor the broad views and the sagacious foresight which actuated the settlers of New Haven in setting apart one-ninth of their entire town plot for public use as a market place.

VIII.

THE GREEN AS A PLACE OF BURIAL.

The selection of the market place by the New Haven settlers as a place of burial was somewhat anomalous. Possibly the example of Boston in making a similar use of a part of its Common may have had an influence. After the meeting-house had been located on the Green, the use of the surrounding ground for burial purposes, according to the custom in the mother country, would naturally be adopted, but in fact, the graveyard was begun before the meeting-house. The first burial at Quinnipiac, however, was not on the Green. One of the pioneers who passed the winter of 1637-8 in caves or cellars on the bank of the creek near George street, died before the main body of the settlers arrived, and his bones were found in 1750 while digging the cellar of the stone house which is still standing at the junction of George and Meadow streets. At least two other persons died in New Haven before the first meeting-house was finished, as appears by orders of the court in 1640 for settling their estates. These persons were probably interred in the market place, for if any other burial ground had been then selected, its use would be likely to have been continued. After this, the records show deaths occurring until 1665 in numbers from one to five a year. By 1659, there must have been about fifty graves in the market place, and the unwisdom of using it as a place of common interment was already beginning to suggest itself. Governor Newman was apparently the first to foresee the dangers to arise in the future from an expanded and overcrowded graveyard in the center of the town. "The Governor," says the record of May, 1659, "informed that it is conceived that it is not for ye health that ye burying place should be where it is; therefore, he propounded

that some other place might be thought of and fenced in for that purpose. Severall places were nominated, but not determined, but left with ye townsmen to consider off." The sanitary suggestion was one in advance of the age, and the governor's recommendations fell on stony ground. He died in the following year, and was buried in the market place, and no further remonstrance appears to have been interposed against interments on the Green for several generations.

Early Plans for Improvement.

After 1670, the area of the graveyard was considerably enlarged by the removal of the first meeting-house, which had stood in the center of the square, and the placing of its successor some rods further east. The growing population of the cemetery caused it also to extend irregularly in all directions, so that it must have become a thoroughfare and a lounging place for the throngs which resorted to the meeting-house for the performance of civic or religious duties, or gathered about the whipping post for recreation and entertainment. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that in the course of time the public taste, if not the public conscience, was awakened to the propriety of protecting the burial ground from unseemly desecrations. In December, 1683, Captain Mansfield, on behalf of the selectmen, "moved that ye burying place might be fenced about and kept in a comly manner; they thought about twenty rods square. Ye motion was debated and ye town did desyer ye townsmen would take it into further consideration how much to fence and in what manner, and then to be further spoken of into another meeting."

Nothing came of the movement at that time, but seven years later, in November, 1690, it was "voted that ye townsmen consider of fencing of ye burying place; how it may be done by wood or stone, and what will be ye best way of doing it, in what forme and how much ground and quantity

of fence and have them return to ye next town meeting or as soon as may be." At the next town meeting, December 29, 1690, the committee reported that, "having viewed ye burying place they think ye best way of fencing it for comlines or safety from creatures rooting up ye ground will be by a stone wall ditched without by earth cast up within; this way judged most durable with least charge. But ye towne by show vote, ordered it to be ffenced with a stone wall only, in an ovall fforme; and yt ye townsmen take care of ye doing it by suitable hand at ye towne's charge as soon as may be." Notwithstanding this formal and explicit vote, no enclosure of the burial place was then made. In the next generation the crowded condition of the ground, and perhaps the increasing difficulty of providing contiguous places of interment for members of the same families, suggested the opening of a supplemental burial ground where lots or graves should be furnished to persons willing to pay for special accommodations; at least such appears to be the significance of the following vote, adopted in town meeting, December, 1728: "Voted, that the lot called the town lot fronting upon the market place be improved for a burying place during the town's pleasure; and the annual rents of said lot be for the use of the grammar school as heretofore." The lot here referred to was the lot on Church street, where the City Hall and Court House now stand. It is not quite clear exactly what scheme of investment for the benefit of the grammar school was contemplated by this vote. It seems likely, however, that under any details of arrangement a leased burying ground must soon have become very dead property, and such seems to have been the public conclusion, for the vote was never carried out, and thus the grammar school was saved from being metaphorically buried in its own graveyard, and the lot was preserved for a future generation to be used as a place for the living to lie in instead of the dead.

The Burial Ground Fenced.

In the meantime, burials were continued in the old ground, and this was becoming not only more and more crowded with permanent occupants, but, as we learn from repeated town votes on record, it was also a common thoroughfare for bipeds feathered and unfeathered, and for quadrupeds of grazing and rooting and burrowing propensities, and a nursery for unsightly and malodorous weeds and barberry bushes, so that its condition and appearance were, to say the least, discreditable. At last, in 1762, the Proprietors' Committee, aroused to the need of some prompt and energetic steps for ending the public disgrace, assembled and passed a vigorous vote, "granting liberty to fence in the burying place," and furthermore appointed "a committee to join with a committee of the town to settle and appoint the place of the fence, and the kind of fence, without cost to the proprietors." This public-spirited action by the proprietors awakened a responsive enthusiasm in the breast of the town to do something handsome for the long-neglected graveyard. Accordingly, at the next town meeting, it was voted with a rush, "that Col. John Hubbard, Mr. Darling, Mr. John Whiting, Mr. Joshua Chandler and Samuel Bishop be a committee to joyne with a committee appointed by ye Proprs. of common and undivided lands to settle and affix ye place where the burying ground shall be fenced in and see how and what manner they can fence in the same, without cost to the town." In view of such an overwhelming public determination that the burying ground should be immediately fenced without cost to anybody, it is not surprising to learn from the diary of Manasses Cutler that three years later it was still unclosed.

Nevertheless, by 1775, the fence had become in some mysterious way an accomplished fact, for it is shown in Dr. Stiles' map of that year. It was a plain board fence painted red, and by confining the burial ground to a limited area its effect must have been to increase its already crowded condi-

tion. That repeated interments were made in the same spots was made evident in excavating for the foundation of the Dixwell monument in 1849, when the remains of sixteen persons were found in a space of twelve feet square within two feet of the surface.

A New Burial Ground Established.

When, after the Revolution, New Haven entered on a new career with a city charter and a population of over three thousand within the city limits, it is probable that the discontinuance of the old burying ground was contemplated as one of the municipal improvements, for by a provision in the first city charter the city was authorized to sell or exchange the western half of the public square if it should see fit to do so. No steps were taken, however, to exercise this power, and burials continued to be made on the Green, in increasing numbers, especially during the pestilential years of 1794 and 1795. In those dismal years, midnight burials were not uncommon, and forty years ago it was one of the reminiscences of an aged lady, whose residence in early life had been opposite the Green, that she had been occasionally awakened by the glare of the torches through her open window and had listened to the solemn tones of Rev. Bela Hubbard as he read the burial service over the grave.

Probably the experience of those years served to impress more forcibly on the public mind the necessity of providing a new burial place, and it was fortunate for New Haven that it contained a citizen with the wisdom to plan and the energy to accomplish the reform in a broad and original manner. In September, 1796, Mr. James Hillhouse, with the coöperation of thirty others, purchased six acres (soon after increased to ten), on Grove street, then in the outskirts of the town, for the purpose, as they announced in their prospectus, of "a new burial ground, larger, better arranged for the accommodation of families, and by its

retired situation better calculated to impress the mind with a solemnity becoming the repository of the dead." This is said to have been the first public cemetery in the world which was laid out in family lots. Pere la Chaise in Paris, which was among the first of modern European cemeteries, was not opened till 1804. President Dwight, writing of the Grove street grounds in 1810, said: "It is believed this cemetery is altogether a singularity in the world. I have accompanied many Americans and many foreigners into it, not one of whom had ever seen or heard of anything of a similar nature." The projectors were organized as a Burial Ground Association in October, 1797, and this was probably the first private association ever incorporated for burial purposes. It was thus the pioneer of those similar enterprises which have since attained such countless numbers, and in many cases such magnificent proportions, throughout the civilized world. The first interment in the new cemetery was that of Mrs. Martha Townsend in 1797. From that date the burials on the Green were few, and they ceased almost entirely after 1800. The last person buried there was Mrs. Martha Whittlesey, who was laid beside her husband, the Rev. Chauncey Whittlesey, in 1812. Her tombstone stands in the crypt of the Center Church.

Though this was the last burial on the Green, there were two subsequent re-interments there which should be noticed. Soon after the completion of Trinity Church, and probably in 1816, the remains of Bishop Jarvis, who died in 1813, and was buried in the Grove street Cemetery, were exhumed and deposited beneath the chancel of the church, where they still remain. His tombstone bears the simple inscription: "Abraham Jarvis," but a tablet to his memory in the church above records the interest he had felt in the building of the edifice, which he was not permitted to behold. The other re-interment was in 1849, when the few remaining relics of Dixwell, the regicide, were collected and placed under his present monument, an incident which will be more particularly referred to hereafter.

The ground covered by this edifice is a portion of the original burying place of New Haven, used from 1638 till 1821.

The earliest date of a burial interred on these old stones is 1687 the latest 1812.

In 1821 the graves outside of these walls were levelled, the monuments and headstones removed to the Grove Street Cemetery.

This Crypt was restored in 1879.

The first Meeting House of this Society was erected in 1639. The Second in 1668. The Third in 1757 and the present Church was dedicated DECEMBER 27th 1814.



In the Memory of the honored
CHAUNCEY WHITTESEY
A.M. 18th pastor of the first church
in this city. With eminent natural
talent and human acquirement the
soundation was given to the present
place of rest and only six thirty. He
was born in the town of Guilford
and is survived by many friends
the more excellent angels and having
undergone with loyalty and dignity
the duties of the pastoral office until
his death the 21st of July in the
74th Year of his age and 5th of
his ministry.
DECEMBER 27th 1814

ENTRANCE TO CENTER CHURCH CRYPT.

The Old Burial Ground Abandoned.

In December, 1812, the burial ground on the Green having been practically abandoned for several years, a town meeting voted "to license the First Ecclesiastical Society to build a new brick meeting-house and to extend the walls as far westwardly as their convenience may require; provided this license do not vary the rights of individuals." This proviso clearly related to questions that might arise out of the disturbance of graves, and left it to the Ecclesiastical Society to take their own risks in that connection. It soon became publicly known that the new meeting-house would stand at right angles to the position of the old one, so that a considerable part of the graveyard must inevitably be encroached upon. Upon this discovery an excited opposition was at once developed. A public meeting was held at the County House, in March, 1813, at which a protest was adopted, signed by one hundred and seventy-eight subscribers, and resolutions passed vigorously denouncing the proposed location of the building. The construction was nevertheless commenced, but when the workmen began to excavate the trenches, a number of persons assembled with shovels and began to throw back the earth as fast as it was thrown out. The opposition was, however, without leadership or general support, and as the remains which were found were carefully preserved, and removed to the new cemetery, it was soon withdrawn. No cellar was dug for the church, but that part of the yard was simply enclosed by the foundation walls, so that the floor of the present crypt indicates the level of the original surface.

No interments, whatever, were made on the Green after 1812, and all care of the burying ground was neglected thereafter. The result was that it soon became foul and unsightly, overgrown with weeds, and owing to the dilapidation of the fence, it was systematically invaded by trespassers, human and brute. By October, 1820, its condition had become so disgraceful that the Common Council of the

city appointed a committee "to inquire and report whether the ancient burying ground should be enclosed or some other course be adopted to evince respect for the dead, and the feelings of the survivors." The committee in due time reported that the ground was "in a condition of total neglect and going to ruin in a manner inconsistent with the religious and moral sense of the community, and indicating a want of decent respect for the memory of the dead." The committee thought that a permanent wall around it would be most suitable but too expensive; and on the whole, recommended a removal of the monuments to the new burying ground at the expense of the city. They also recommended that a marble monument with a suitable inscription be placed on the rear wall of the Center Church, and that the city purchase a tract in the new cemetery for public use. These recommendations were adopted by the Common Council and a committee was appointed to carry them into effect.

Removal of the Monuments.

On June 26, 1821, the removal of the monuments was commenced. The exercises began with a public religious service in the Center Church, and a funeral address. After the service, the committee of the Common Council, accompanied by the President and officers of Yale College, commenced the removal by conveying the monuments of officers and students of the college to the new cemetery. All the other monuments were then removed day by day till the work was completed, and the ground was afterward leveled by filling to the proper grade. A memorial tablet was subsequently placed on the rear wall of the Center Church, and also tablets in the vestibule of the church, giving the names of those whose monuments remained beneath the building. The whole expense of the proceeding, which amounted to \$1,289.38, was paid by the city.

It appears from the committee's report that the number of monuments removed was eight hundred, and the num-

ber left beneath the church one hundred and thirty-seven. It must be observed, however, that many stones had been previously removed as family memorials by persons owning lots in the new cemetery. It is also traditional that for more than half a century the ground had been drawn upon for flat stones to be used in building and other purposes, and that South Middle College in particular (which is still standing) was largely indebted to the neighboring graveyard for its hearthstones and backs of fire-places. As oven floors, the slate tombstones were said to be exceedingly convenient, and the bread of a certain baker was always known by the trademark of a cherub's head or fragment of an epitaph on the bottoms of the loaves. I am informed by Mr. Trowbridge that in digging a trench in Temple street for a water pipe to the Center Church a few years ago, not only numerous bones, but also fragments of tombstones, were found lying underground on the original surface, evidently broken stones not sufficiently complete to be carried away at the general removal. There must therefore have been at least one thousand tombstones within the limits of the graveyard in 1800, and while it is of course impossible to compute with any accuracy how many bodies were buried within that portion of the Green during the one hundred and sixty years that it was in use for that purpose, a conservative estimate would fix the number as between four and five thousand. As no bodies were disinterred when the monuments were removed and very few previous to that time, the greater part of this subterranean population still rests beneath the surface of the Green. Yet not entirely, for by the subtle action of chemical agencies the elements of their material frames are continually passing from the soil into the turf and overshadowing boughs which give pleasure and comfort to the living. And in like manner their names, virtues and achievements are being drawn from the dust of oblivion to gladden the hearts of the present generation by filling its family trees with illustrious ancestors, forefathers, foremothers and fore—bears.

Ghosts in the Old Burial Ground.

While referring to the occupants of the old burial ground, we must not forget those disembodied spirits with which the popular imagination peoples every dwelling place of the dead and whose spectral forms are supposed to occasionally rise from yawning graves "to revisit the pale glimpses of the moon, making night hideous." In view of the crowded condition of the graveyard on the Green and the promiscuous way in which its tenants were thrown together, it would not have been surprising if an occasional restless ghost had broken out of its uncomfortable quarters to disturb the serenity of belated travelers. The only genuine ghost story on record, however, connected with the Green, relates to a spook which, so far from evincing repugnance to the mortuary accommodations there provided, actually displayed a premature eagerness to occupy them. The story comes from no less an authority than the first President Dwight, and is contained in a published decision which he rendered in a debate by the Senior class of Yale College on the question, "Do Spectres Appear?" I will give it in substantially the President's own words.

"A respectable inhabitant of this town whom I personally knew, and who was of unquestionable veracity as well of remarkable moderation, related the following incident: At the age of sixteen, while an apprentice to his father, who was a blacksmith, he was going home from a friend's house at about two o'clock at night, when he saw a person walking at no great distance before him. He supposed it to be a fellow apprentice with whom he was on terms of intimacy and warm friendship, and walked fast to overtake him, making as little noise as possible, intending to take him by surprise. They were but a little distance from the old burying ground on the Green as he drew near, and the course taken by the young man was by one of the paths leading into it. He soon overtook him and suddenly

extending his arm endeavored to clasp him around the body; but to his surprise he did not arrest his progress nor appear to attract his notice, nor was he sensible of feeling anything in his grasp. Still, he was not alarmed, but felt so confident that the young man was his friend that he continued to pursue him until he proceeded to a spot in the burying ground where he stopped and speedily vanished. He thought the occurrence so extraordinary that he determined to mark the spot, and gathering a few bones, brush, and stones together, made a little heap and proceeded homeward.

“He went to his room and retired to bed; after which he learnt from some of the family that his fellow apprentice was sick. His disease, which was the pleurisy, soon terminated his life. When the sexton went to the graveyard some of the friends who accompanied him to determine the spot where the grave should be made, without any knowledge of the story of the apparition, chose the place where it had disappeared, so that the first thing the sexton did was to clear away with his spade the little heap by which it had been distinguished. These details I had from a gentleman who received them from the surviving apprentice. The evidence is strong that he told the truth, and there is nothing that I know of to contradict it. It is true that the time was night, but the moon was bright and objects at a short distance were almost as distinctly visible as by day.” The Doctor adds: “There was indeed no important end to be accomplished by the apparition so far as we can see unless that of producing useful impressions on the mind of the young man;” and it must be agreed that young gentlemen who are in the habit of going home at two o’clock in the morning and who under such circumstances are not in the least disconcerted at finding themselves embracing a ghost, are generally fit subjects for useful moral lessons. It might be added that they are not unlikely to remember next morning remarkable visions for which spirits are chiefly responsible.

Another ghost story connected with the old burial ground on the Green concerns a party of convivial students, who were wending their way across it one moonlight night just as the clock struck twelve. Moved by a sudden impulse born of Dutch courage, one of the party mounted a flat tablet monument and called three times in loud and solemn tones, "Arise, ye dead, and come to judgment!" Scarcely had the third summons rung out on the midnight air when a white figure rose from among the graves and rushed toward the speaker with a wild, unearthly shriek, "Yes, Lord, I'm coming!" The time occupied by the students in getting out of the burial ground and into the college buildings was not carefully taken, but it is positively known that in brevity it broke the world's record for the same distance; while the poor, demented creature who had been roused from her sleep among the tombstones, after vainly pursuing the supposed celestial messenger for a while, returned to her resting place greatly disconcerted at his sudden disappearance and the prompt withdrawal of his invitation.

The "Regicides' Tombstones."

In the general removal of monuments which took place in 1821, three were left undisturbed—the E. W. stone, dated 1657-8; the M. G. stone, marked '80, and the I. D. tombstone of 1689. They were all left for the same reason, each being supposed to mark a regicide's grave. The I. D. stone was unquestionably authentic, as the memorial of John Dixwell, and in 1847 some descendants of Dixwell, living in Boston, addressed the city authorities of New Haven, proposing to erect a suitable monument over his grave and to enclose it with an iron railing if the city would protect it and keep it in repair. After obtaining the approval of the Proprietors' Committee, the proposal was accepted at a city meeting held December 14, 1847; and on November 21, 1849, at five o'clock in the morning the

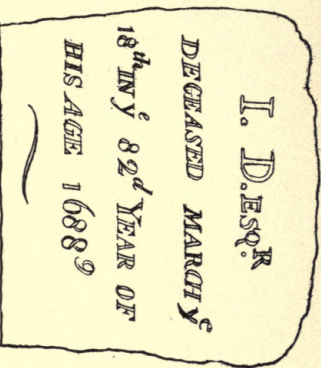
remains were exhumed. The skeleton was found fairly well preserved within the mouldered coffin, and the bones, having been carefully collected in a suitable casket, were re-interred, after which the present monument, with the original tombstone by its side, was erected above them.

After this memorial work was accomplished, some criticism was bestowed on the supervising committee because they had made no provision for preserving the other two stones, supposed to belong to Whalley and Goffe, in the immediate vicinity. These objections called forth the explanation that the committee, after careful inquiry, had come to the conclusion that the stones marked E. W. and M. G. were not regicide memorials, but the gravestones of Edward Wigglesworth and Matthew Gilbert. As this subject has been much discussed since that time, and as it concerns so nearly the historic dignity of our ancient Green, it is worth while to summarize the leading considerations on both sides of the question.

There is little doubt that Whalley died in Hadley about 1674 or 1675, and Goffe is supposed to have died in Hartford about 1680. It is extremely improbable that the body of either would have been brought to New Haven, at considerable trouble and cost, as a mere matter of sentiment, and therefore the presumption is strongly against the claim that these regicides are buried here. On the other hand, the arguments in support of the Wigglesworth and Gilbert theory are far from convincing. In the first place, it seems unlikely that monuments of personages so prominent in the community should have been inscribed with the mere initials of their names. There are but four tombstones now existing which are so inscribed, and these are all of dates prior to 1700. One of them is for a child nine years old; one of them for a child less than two years old; one of them, besides the initials, has an unintelligible inscription, apparently for an infant; and the fourth is the I. D. stone placed over Dixwell's grave. Concerning this last one we learn from Dr. Stiles that it was marked with

initials only at Dixwell's own request in order to promote obscurity, "lest his enemies might dishonor his ashes." From this it appears that such abbreviated designation on a tombstone was unusual and indicated a person little known. No such reason for mere initials, however, exists in the cases of Wigglesworth and Gilbert. The first was one of the original settlers. He was above the average in point of property, and at the time of his death had a son in the ministry. The other had been from the beginning of the colony one of its most prominent men; he was one of the original seven pillars, a magistrate and deputy governor, and was possessed of a handsome estate. The insignificance of these stones in itself strongly discredits the view that they mark the graves of Wigglesworth and Gilbert, but that theory also encounters other and more serious objections.

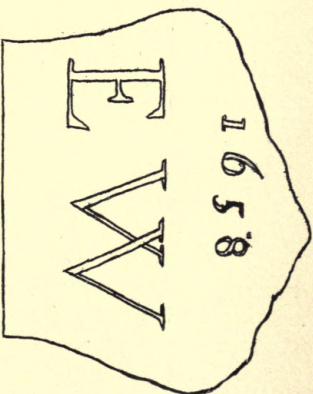
Wigglesworth died in 1653, and on both his headstone and footstone appears the same date as originally cut, 1658. There is no doubt that this was the original date, and it is inconceivable that there can have been a mistake of five years on a tombstone which must have been put up within a very few months after his death. On the footstone, the figure 5 in 1658 shows a figure 7 so annexed to it that the date may be read 1658 or 1678, though it is evident that the 5 was the original figure. It has been suggested that this alteration has been surreptitiously made in order to support the claim that Whalley was buried there. But Whalley died in 1674, not 1678, besides which such an alteration in only one of the stones would be futile, the other remaining unchanged. But apart from these considerations there is convincing evidence that the alteration was not made for any such fraudulent purpose. The question whether the stones belonged to Wigglesworth or Whalley had never been put in issue till Dr. Stiles raised it in 1794, and the sketch of the tombstones given in his book shows the mutilated date as having precisely the same appearance then as now. That it could not have



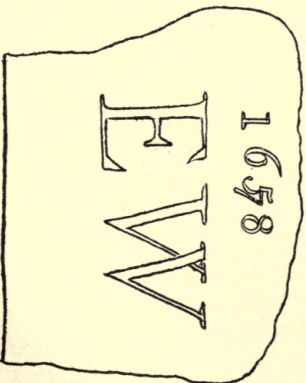
*Two and a quarter feet high & broad
 5 Ins. thick: red stone. Head stone.*



*One foot broad twelve high.
 Head stone*



*Two feet wide & high, & 8 Ins thick
 Blue dark stone Head stone*



Foot stone

character as regicides' stones as unquestioned fact. Theodore Dwight's "History of Connecticut," written in 1841, made the same statement with regard to the E. W. stone and raised no question as to the other. And neither Prof. Kingsley nor Dr. Bacon, in their historical discourses of 1838 and 1839, expressed any doubt as to the correctness of the popular belief, as they would have been likely to do had that seemed to require refutation. In fact, I find no intimation anywhere that Whalley and Goffe were not in undisturbed occupation of the E. W. and M. G. graves for more than fifty years, until the iconoclastic committee on the Dixwell monument suddenly ousted them from possession in 1849.

As we are now called upon to review the action of the committee, we must bear in mind that possession is nine points of the law, and that no occupant of real estate under a claim of right can be legally dispossessed except by some claimant who can prove a superior title in himself to the premises. From this point of view it must be conceded that Messrs. Gilbert and Wigglesworth, plaintiffs in 1849, hardly made out a sufficient case in their own favor to justify the ejectment of Messrs. Goffe and Whalley, defendants. On the other hand, it appears from all the evidence in the case that neither party is able to establish a clear original title, and the most equitable verdict would be that they should compromise on a joint possession until a better owner than either appears. Let such be the judgment recorded. And it shall come to pass that when, in time to come, your children shall ask you, saying, "What mean these stones?" then shall ye answer them: "These be the tombstones that mark the graves of Gilbert Goffe and Wigglesworth Whalley."

Now that these venerable tombstones are under consideration, let me take this opportunity to suggest the early removal of the M. G. stone from its present exposed situation to a place inside the iron fence which, through the wise and timely action of our present president, was erected

several years ago, so as to enclose the E. W. stone at the rear of the Center Church. Apart from its interest as a subject of antiquarian discussion, it should be protected as an undoubted relic of early colonial times. By a comparison of its present appearance with the sketch made of it by President Stiles in 1793, it seems not yet to have been materially injured, but continued neglect may result in its complete destruction.*

Governor Eaton's Monument.

Among the monuments removed to the new cemetery there was one of special interest, that over the grave of Governor Theophilus Eaton. In May, 1658, just after Governor Eaton's death, the General Court of the colony adopted the following order:

"The Court calling to mind the good service done to this colony by our late honoured Governour, did order that a comely tombe such as we are capable of shall be made over his grave, and that the estate he left behind him shall be free from rates this year to the jurisdiction."

Three years later, in May, 1661, "there was something propounded about the engraving of Gov. Eaton's tomb, which was agreed to be left to ye Gouvenour, Deputy Gouvenour and New Haven Court with the advise of ye elders of New Haven." How much of this "comely tombe" remained to be transferred to the Grove Street Cemetery is uncertain. The two stone blocks or pillars which support the tablet now in the cemetery, are probably part of it, though they have been squared and trimmed into modern spruceness, but the monument, if not of modern manufacture, has certainly been redressed and re-cut, and as the inscription on it differs from that given by Barber in 1836, the re-cutting must have been since that date. Probably the original tablet, which was engraved in 1661, was not in existence when the monument was removed from the

* See Note 3.

Green, for the reason that the one so removed contained the epitaphs of Governor Jones and his wife, who died in 1706 and 1707, and also two poetical effusions which are traditionally ascribed to Rev. Mr. Pierpont, and which certainly sound more like tombstone literature of 1707 than that of 1661. The first of these effusions is the well-known tribute to Eaton:

Eaton so famed, so wise, so just.
The phoenix of our world here hides his dust,
This name forget, N. England never must.

In the second, which relates to Governor Jones and wife, the muse takes on a much humbler strain:

T' attend you, sir, beneath these framed stones
Are come your honoured son and daughter Jones
On each hand to repose their weary bones.

Unless the Jones epitaph was cut into the original Eaton stone after Mrs. Jones's death, a new tablet must have been supplied at that time, but what the fact may be it is now impossible to say. I have not been able to learn of any reference to the triplet on Eaton before the time of Mr. Pierpont.

Public Funerals in New Haven.

It appears by the records that the colony not only furnished the "comely tombe" to Governor Eaton's memory, but that his funeral also was at the public charge. His successor, Governor Newman, also died in office, in 1661, and it was voted that "ye charges of his funerall be borne by ye jurisdiction, as Governour Eaton's was." No monument, however, was voted to his memory, and no such memorial is now in existence. In 1706, on the death of Deputy Governor William Jones, the General Assembly of Connecticut, then sitting in New Haven, voted that "in consideration of his many good services, the charges of his funeral be paid out of the public treasury." These three

honorary funerals at public charges are the only instances of the kind in New Haven, so far as I can discover, until the public funeral of Admiral Foote at the cost of the city, July 1, 1863. At the death of Roger Sherman, July 23, 1793, he being at the time mayor of the city and United States senator, appropriate resolutions were adopted by the Common Council, and the entire city government attended his funeral, together with a great concourse of other public officials, officers and students of Yale College and private citizens, but the obsequies were not at the public charge. Funeral ceremonies, however, in honor of distinguished public men, not residents of New Haven, have been repeatedly conducted on the Green by city authority. When Washington died, in December, 1799, honorary resolutions were adopted by the Common Council and minute guns fired by their order. After the death of Adams and Jefferson, July 4, 1826, the Common Council passed resolutions and ordered the bells to be tolled and minute guns fired on the Green for one hour, from six o'clock in the evening. Similar observances followed the death of General Lafayette, in 1834, and by request of the Common Council a funeral oration in his honor was delivered by Hon. James Hillhouse at the ensuing commencement in August. Seven years later, when President Harrison died, there were elaborate ceremonies, comprising a military and civic procession, with a funeral sermon by Rev. Dr. Bacon. A more ambitious display attended the obsequies of President Taylor, July 24, 1850, in which a gorgeous catafalque followed by a white horse bearing an empty saddle were conspicuous features. At the Center Church a funeral oration was delivered by Hon. E. K. Foster.

On June 21, 1861, occurred the funeral of the first son of New Haven who fell in the civil war. On that day the body of Major Theodore Winthrop was received at the railroad station on Chapel street and borne, to the sound of minute guns and tolling bells, to its last resting-place in

Grove street cemetery. It was followed by a large military and civic escort, including the Mayor and Common Council of the city, after which the procession returned to the Green and was there dismissed. Two years later, June 30, 1863, the public funeral of another New Haven hero, Admiral Foote, was conducted under the direction and at the expense of the city on a scale of impressive dignity and extent. The body having been publicly viewed for several hours at the State House, was conveyed to the Center Church, which was heavily draped, and there services were held, with a funeral address by Rev. Dr. Bacon. It was then attended to the cemetery by an immense procession composed of national and state officials, military and naval officers, midshipmen and marines, with large bodies of federal and state troops, followed by members of the city government of New Haven and other cities, officers and students of Yale College, members of the different professions, and numerous benevolent and other associations. The public obsequies for Presidents Lincoln and Garfield were of a memorable character, but belong to a period not covered by these chronicles.

Ancient Funeral Customs.

It would be interesting to compare the details of this public funeral with those which marked that of Governor Eaton, two hundred and five years previously. No particulars of these observances, however, have come down to us and we can only infer them by recalling the funeral customs of that period. In early colonial days, owing to the prejudice against prayers for the dead, there were no religious services connected with the interment. Lechford, who wrote of New England customs before 1700, says: "At burials nothing is read nor any funeral sermon made, but all the neighborhood or a goodly company of them come together by the tolling of the bell and carry the dead solemnly to his grave and then stand by him while he is

buried. The ministers are most commonly present." The procession was entirely on foot, headed by the men, who walked in couples, the women following in similar order. In the center was the bier, sometimes called "the herse," which was a plain platform with handles, carried by bearers and left at the grave or elsewhere in the burial ground after the funeral. In New Haven apparently no pall was used to cover the coffin until December, 1715, when Mr. Jonathan Atwater offered "to ye town a cloath to be servisable at funeralls to be kept at house of Ensign Isaac Dickerman and when upon any occasion fetched from said house to be carefully returned thither." A wheeled hearse was not used till 1794, when one was built by private subscription and also a house to keep it in. Many of our older residents well remember this building with its somber contents, standing on the corner of Grove and Prospect streets just outside of the cemetery fence. The hearse was maintained by the city and "a hearse leader" annually chosen by the Common Council until 1841, when both hearse and house were sold to West Haven for the sum of \$25.

Prior to 1700 the funeral sermon, if any, was preached on the Sunday following the interment. After 1725, when the Episcopal burial service began to be occasionally used, the practice of preaching and praying at funerals gained ground. The genial custom of supplying unlimited liquors at funerals dates back to the earliest colonial times, and was doubtless a survival of the funeral feasts of our ancestors. For many years spirituous beverages were furnished freely to all comers and the liquor bill was often one of the heaviest charges against the estate. Probably these sympathetic potations were imbibed theoretically with a view to drowning sorrow and enabling the mourning company to bear up firmly under the burden of their grief; but there is reason to believe that, practically, quite a contrary effect was sometimes produced. In October, 1694, the town voted as follows: Whereas, some inconvenience

is observed in ye use of rum or strong drinks at funerals, the town recommend to ye inhabitants yt may from tyme to tyme be conserved, yt they would use their liberty or prudence in laying downe ye custome for ye future, only as there may be need of refreshing in a privat way for psons living remote." This delicate suggestion had little effect, however, and the practice was not entirely discontinued until after 1830, though, in later years, the refreshment was furnished "in a private way" to the bearers only.

Mourning rings for the minister and family friends seem never to have been much in vogue in New Haven.*

Linen scarfs, each of sufficient size to make a shirt, were usually furnished to the minister and bearers until after 1820. The last instance that I have been able to identify was at the funeral of Eli Whitney in 1825. The supply of gloves for bearers, which still survives, was an early colonial custom. In several of the ancient graves which have been disturbed on the Green a considerable number of thorns two or three inches in length have been found, which were probably used for fastening the winding sheet instead of pins,† which during the Revolution became exceedingly expensive.

Before the days of professional undertakers, it was customary for neighbors to prepare the grave clothes when a death was expected, and it is said that in 1804 some excellent ladies sat up half the night to finish a shroud for John C. Calhoun, then a student in Yale College, regardless of Dr. Dwight's prediction that he was destined to become the president of the United States.

Bell-tolling at funerals was for nearly two hundred years considered an essential feature of respectable obsequies, and a public bell ringer performed that function at a rate of compensation annually fixed by the authorities. In April, 1830, the Medical Association of New Haven, in that spirit of modesty which prompts them to discourage all forms of professional advertising, presented a petition to the Com-

* See Note 4.

† See Note 5.

mon Council requesting that the tolling of bells at funerals might be prohibited by city ordinance. No official action was taken at that time, but the practice began to decline, and when, two years afterwards, the office of public bell ringer was abrogated, the custom soon came to an end.

The Medical Profession in New Haven.

Although the history of a burial ground cannot properly be said to include, like that of other inhabited places, an account of the rise and progress of its population, yet it would hardly be complete without reference to the health and mortality records of the community where it is located. And just as a review of the courts and jurisprudence of New Haven involved some account of the lawyers who furnished the tribunals with business, so the chronicles of its graveyard suggest allusion to the local physicians of whose faithful labors it is a perpetual reminder. For the first hundred and fifty years of the town, while medical science was crude, and the medical profession undeveloped and unorganized, the burial place on the Green sufficed for the public needs; but after the Connecticut Medical Society was established, in 1792, attention was quickly drawn to the growing necessity of a new and larger cemetery, and since that time the growth of our burial accommodations has about kept pace with the numerical increase of the doctors.

The first generation of New Haveners was afflicted with malarial fevers which, in default of judicious medical treatment, were the principal cause of graveyard repletion. During this period, that is to say till about 1670, the principal reliance of the people for medical advice was a Mr. Augur, who practised the healing art in the intervals of his other business. From the avidity with which the community welcomed rival practitioners to town, it would appear that Mr. Augur's abilities were not rated very highly. In 1651 a real doctor, who had studied in France and had a certificate from a learned university, appeared

in New Haven, and after Mr. Davenport had examined his credentials and pronounced them satisfactory, the General Court invited him to remain and provided him with a furnished house. Three months later the town was in a panic on account of his exorbitant charges, and the magistrates and elders jointly labored with him in an attempt "to settle a more moderate price for his visits." Apparently the effort was unsuccessful, for a few months later the town voted him "liberty to go as he had opportunity." If his opportunity depended on his ability to collect his bills, it is to be feared that he waited for it in vain and finally made a premature departure, for the records show that even cheap Mr. Augur repeatedly complained to the court that he could not obtain his pay for either visits or medicines.

In 1655 the malarial scourge was especially severe, and in this year Mr. John Winthrop, Jr. (afterward Governor of Connecticut) took up his abode in New Haven, being specially welcomed on account of his reputed medical skill. Probably the public confidence was heightened by the knowledge that he had in his possession "a sovereign remedy for curing agues," which had been sent him from London by Sir Kenelm Digby, a member of the Royal Society and a noted savant of the day. As these disorders are not entirely extinct in New Haven, it may be worth while to restore the prescription to the modern *materia medica*. It is as follows: "Pare the patient's nayles when the fitt is coming on and put the parings into a little bagge of fine linen or sarsnett and tye that about a live eele's neck in a tubbe of water. The eele will dye and the patient will recover. And if a dogge or a hogge eat that eele they will also dye."

Doubtless this antidote was highly successful as a convenient and expeditious means of exterminating superfluous dogs, hogs and eels, but its efficacy in expelling malaria from the human system seems not to have equaled the public requirements. Certain it is that in 1658 Mr. Winthrop betook himself elsewhere, leaving Mr. Augur alone

in the field to fight the pestilence. This he did in the old-fashioned way, and when he found a patient at death's door he rarely failed to pull him through. But, alas! for the gratitude of his beneficiaries. In 1660 Mr. Augur announced to the town meeting "that his stock of physic was gone and how to procure more he saw not, being disabled by the non-payment of some and the unsuitable payment of others." In response to this moving appeal the meeting, which was, no doubt, largely composed of his delinquent debtors, passed a vigorous resolution to the effect that those who owed Mr. Augur ought to pay up, and advised him to bring some of them into court. He does not appear to have done so, however, and unless his experience differed from that of his successors in the healing art in New Haven, he was obliged to wait for the payment of most of his bills until the settlement of his patients' estates, having this advantage, however, in common with his later professional brethren, that it was always in his power to accelerate the time of such final adjustment.

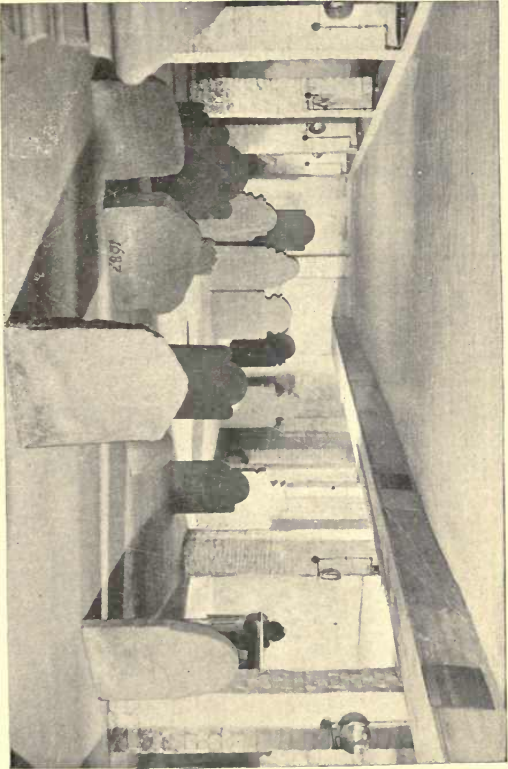
After Mr. Winthrop's departure, Mr. Augur appears to have had sole charge of the health of New Haven till his death by shipwreck in 1676. The town then remained destitute of a physician till 1688, when by invitation of the town Dr. Williams came here from Hartford, but how long he remained or when he died is unknown.

Brown's map of 1724 shows the dwelling of "W. Mather Physician," and Wadsworth's map of 1748 indicates that three "Physicians" at that date were living here, "Tim Mix, Jno. Hubbard and L. Hubbard," and about the year 1770 the names of Dr. John Rhode and Dr. Bonticou appear as local practitioners. A medical profession had now begun to develop, and in 1783 the New Haven County Medical Society was organized with 61 members, among them Dr. Eneas Monson, Dr. Levi Ives, Dr. Leverett Hubbard and Dr. Ebenezer Beardsley, names which even after the lapse of a hundred years have still a familiar sound in New Haven. This association was

merged into the Connecticut Medical Association in 1792, and in 1803 a new local society was created which still exists as the New Haven Medical Association. After that date the Green was practically abandoned as a place of burial; and as it does not concern these chronicles to follow the medical profession into later fields of usefulness, we will now turn our attention briefly to the mortuary statistics and health conditions of New Haven during the period when the old burying ground was in use.

Vital Statistics of New Haven.

Until after the beginning of this century no records of mortality were kept in New Haven, though in 1795 and afterwards the local newspapers published lists of the deaths during each preceding year. In 1811 Dr. Dwight collected the first vital statistics of a general historic character, and he mentions 1734 and 1735 as being years of special mortality. If the comparative number of existing tombstones is any indication, the year 1711 must also have been a very sickly one. Dr. Dwight also specifies 1724, 1751, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1794 and 1795 as years marked by an unusual number of deaths, the two last named being still memorable as the pestilential years of yellow fever and dysentery. In 1794 out of a total population of 5,000 there were 180 deaths, of which 64 were from yellow fever. In 1795 there were 750 cases of dysentery alone, of which 75 proved fatal, which is in the same proportion as if in 1897 it had attacked 15,000 persons, of whom 1,500 had died. The total mortality in the two years of 1794 and 1795 was 339, which would be equivalent to 6,780 in 1896 and 1897, or about one-fifteenth of the whole population. The ratio of deaths to the population in 1794 was 36 in every 1,000 inhabitants, and in 1795, 31 in 1,000. The rate at the present time is about 19 in 1,000.



ALLEY IN CENTER CHURCH CRYPT.
Showing the oldest tombstone (1687).

Former Unsanitary Conditions.

Doubtless the ravages of epidemic and other maladies was largely due to a general neglect of sanitary conditions which now would not be tolerated for a day. Garbage and other refuse was quite commonly thrown into the streets. The kitchen drainage of nearly every house was through an open ditch across the yard, often in close proximity to the well. The sluggish creeks near George and State streets were the common sewers for all the filth which could not otherwise be disposed of, and the market house which was erected in 1786 stood for several years directly over the creek for the convenience of throwing refuse into it. The isolation of infectious diseases was almost wholly neglected, and so reckless was the disregard of public and private safety in this respect, that had an isolation hospital been projected, it is not impossible, incredible as it may seem in this age of the world, that an obstinate Common Council might have forbidden its erection on any practicable site.

In the habits and appointments of domestic life the modern precautions against improvident exposure were habitually absent. Woolen underclothing was rarely worn until after 1825. Rubber shoes and waterproof garments were unknown and even umbrellas were a rarity until after 1800. Before 1838 there were no public baths in New Haven. Private bath-rooms were an unheard-of luxury, and when a certain elegant gentleman was pointed out by an admirer as a man who put on a clean shirt every day, the astonished auditor exclaimed: "He must be an aw-fully dirty fellow!" Dwelling houses were only partially warmed by great drafty fire-places, and the bedrooms not at all. The meeting-houses in winter were so cold that ice formed in the baptismal bowl, and the bread froze on the communion plates. Vaccination was not introduced until after 1800, and nearly all the great discoveries and important progress in sanitary as well as medical science have been made during the present century.

Reforms in Burial Customs.

Among the improvements in sanitary and social science within the last hundred years which have checked the rapid growth of graveyard populations, must be included that great step forward which was first taken in New Haven in 1797, the reformation of the graveyard itself. Prior to 1800 the custom of intra-mural interment universally prevailed in cities, and as the public burial places were limited in area there could be no private ownership in graves and no sanctity attached to them as resting-places of the dead. Hence public cemeteries inevitably became neglected and unsightly, offensive to the eye, and detrimental to the public health. The New Haven plan, by which large areas in the suburbs were divided into family lots and converted into peaceful and attractive places of resort, has in its development not only brought about a striking alteration in the appearance of burial grounds, but a revolution in public sentiment to the extent of investing every grave with a sacred and inviolable character. But the new method has its evils and its dangers as well as the old. It has been in general operation for hardly two generations, and already the enormous and successive sequestrations of land in the vicinity of our cities and towns, whereby great districts are withdrawn from the needs of the living for the uses of the dead, and the constantly increasing burdens and expenses of funerals which it entails, are beginning to awaken serious apprehension. Evidently the time will come soon, if it has not already, when some new system must be adopted for the disposal of the dead; and it would be eminently suitable if New Haven, which led the way in cemetery improvement, should also be among the first to take the next important step in the same path of progress.

The Center Church Crypt.

It is an interesting circumstance in the history of the Green as a burial place that, amid the changes which have swept out of existence all other memorials of early colonial days, a part of the ancient graveyard still remains undisturbed and in excellent preservation. Beneath the Center Church, thanks to the generosity and the pious care of our honored President, Mr. Trowbridge, to whom New Haven is indebted for the perpetuation of much that is of historic value and antiquarian interest, the generations of to-day and of future years may behold a section of the old burial ground on the Green substantially as it appeared in pre-revolutionary times. There the venerable tombstones stand intact, placed without order or arrangement, without regard to kinship or station in life, but all alike sheltered by the ancient mother church, as if she had gathered under her wings at least these few memorials of her children to preserve them from the ruthless hands of change and oblivion.

Nor was her protection superfluous, for of the nearly nine hundred persons whose remains are still reposing outside the church and whose graves before 1821 were plainly marked by monuments, there are hardly half a dozen whose resting-places could now be even conjectured. On the lower Green, in some spot unknown but supposed to be not far from the flagstaff, lies Isaac Allerton, one of the Mayflower pilgrims and "the father of American commerce." Near the northwestern corner of the Center Church reposes the dust of Governor Eaton, mingled with that of his daughter and of his son-in-law, Deputy Governor Jones. The grave of Dixwell is still marked by its original tombstone, and so are the disputed graves which have been assigned to Wigglesworth and Gilbert; and finally, Mrs. Dorcas Trowbridge, who died in 1783, is known to lie beneath the crossing of two footpaths near the Dixwell monument. But of all the other thousands who are not

sheltered beneath the church, no man living can trace, or even guess, the resting-place of a single one. We only know that within a space of three or four acres the bones of six generations lie indistinguishably intermingled. Magistrates and criminals, preachers, soldiers, merchants, lawyers, doctors, colonial dames, paupers and negro slaves are all consorting together in promiscuous companionship. They rest from their labors, and their works do follow them. The obliteration of their graves is not more complete than the disappearance of the landmarks and manners of their times. Old things have passed away and all things have become new.

A Vision of Past Changes in the Green.

Like Macaulay's New Zealander, who, seated on the ruins of London Bridge, pondered over the vanished life of the city, we may fancy a contemplative New Havener, at this close of the nineteenth century, installed on a bench near the Dixwell monument, reflecting on the silent generations beneath his feet and recalling the changes which they successively witnessed in the ancient Green around him. He sees in vision the half-cleared market place of the settlers, the rude little meeting-house in its center, with a few rough tombstones half hidden by weeds at its side, and the humble school-house and jail and whipping post not far away. He hears the beat of a drum, and sees the reverend Davenport and the worshipful Eaton, with their families, wending their way to "the ordinances" along the causeway which crosses the swamp. And again the drum beats, and a crowd gathers about the whipping post to see a Quaker instructed by its agency in the Gospel spirit and truth. The scene passes, and another of the second and third generations comes into view. The first meeting-house has disappeared and a large one, square and plain, has taken its place. The graveyard has grown in size, and on its western edge a larger school-house and jail and a new wooden

court-house stand in a homely row. He sees Whitefield preaching to excited and weeping crowds beneath the Pierpont elms, and troops assembling on the Green and filing into the meeting-house, with Whiting at their head, to receive the blessing of Heaven before they start for the French and Indian wars. Again the scene changes, and now the Colonial period is drawing to a close. The plain, square meeting-house is gone and a trim steepled edifice of brick has succeeded. A neat white rival confronts it on the north and in its rear a large brick court-house completes a dignified line. The graveyard is packed with monuments and has been enclosed with a substantial fence, and the surrounding square is unsightly with weeds and barberry bushes, and traversed by straggling wheel tracks. The jail is still standing and so is the old wooden court-house at the northwest corner, and in front of it Arnold is marshalling the Foot Guard and demanding powder for their march to Boston. They pass on their way, and now the Green is crowded with British troops, drunk and disorderly, bivouacking around the buildings and among the graves. This scene also fades, and in the next a wonderful transformation appears. It is the year of grace 1850, and of the Independence of the United States the 74th. The Green has become the famous ornament and pride of a thriving city and on its central flagstaff floats the banner of the world's greatest and most powerful Republic. All the old landmarks have disappeared. The colonial meeting-houses and court-houses, the jail, the school-house and even the graveyard—all are gone. Three handsome churches are ranged symmetrically from north to south, and a majestic Parthenon rears its stately form where the rude jail and school-house stood two generations before. The well-kept square is fenced and graded and laid out with walks, and overarching rows of graceful elms cast their shadows across its verdant lawns. Young men and boys are romping over it in their sports and all signs tell of peace and prosperity. But all at once the sky is

darkened by the clouds of civil war. Flags fly from the steeples and the square is covered with drilling squads and marching regiments, and for a time there is an atmosphere of anxiety and gloom. Twenty-five years roll by. Again the sun shines brightly forth. Peace and tranquility have returned, but New Haven is a State capital no longer, and lo! there is a vision of crowds collecting in front of the now deserted and crumbling Parthenon, and gazing with bated breath while ropes are attached to its classic portico. The ropes are strained! The fabric totters! It falls with a thundering crash, and the dreamer awakes with a start from his reverie to the sights and sounds of a modern metropolis. Newsboys are screaming extras with the latest telegrams from Cuba and Spain. Electric cars are humming past on every side. Bicyclists by scores are flitting in all directions. A horseless carriage goes panting along its odorous way and the yell and roar of an express train are heard in the distance. A German, a Frenchman and a Swede are crowding him in his bench. A Chinaman is passing with a bundle of laundry work. Italian fruit venders and Russian rag dealers are pushing their carts with unintelligible cries. An Armenian is peddling rugs. A gang of Hungarians and Poles are digging up the streets. Two Japanese students are chattering on an adjoining seat, and an Irish policeman is watching him suspiciously, evidently considering whether he is drunk enough to warrant "pulling him in." He rises to depart. He leaves the dead past with its buried dead; and he realizes that New Haven has entered on a new career of civilization as varied as science and as wide as mankind, and that its old-time quaintness, simplicity and homogeneity will be seen no more forever.

The "Chronicles of the Green" are ended.

NOTES TO PAPER No. VIII.

NOTE 1 (page 261).

Dr. Stiles gives a picture of the tombstone in which the "deeply cut line under the M" is made very conspicuous. Mr. Barber furnishes a corroborative representation of the underscored initial; and in all the discussions about the tombstone the line under the M has not been questioned. Yet when the stone was taken up soon after the reading of this paper no such line could be discovered. The inscription is now in plain view and those interested can examine it for themselves.

NOTE 2 (page 261).

I am informed by Mr. Henry Trowbridge that in excavating the trench for a water pipe which enters the southeast corner of the Center Church "there were found fragments of several stones of the Gilbert family." This statement corroborates the idea that Matthew Gilbert's tombstone disappeared when the Brick Meeting-house was built, for the trench ran across ground which was covered by that edifice.

NOTE 3 (page 263).

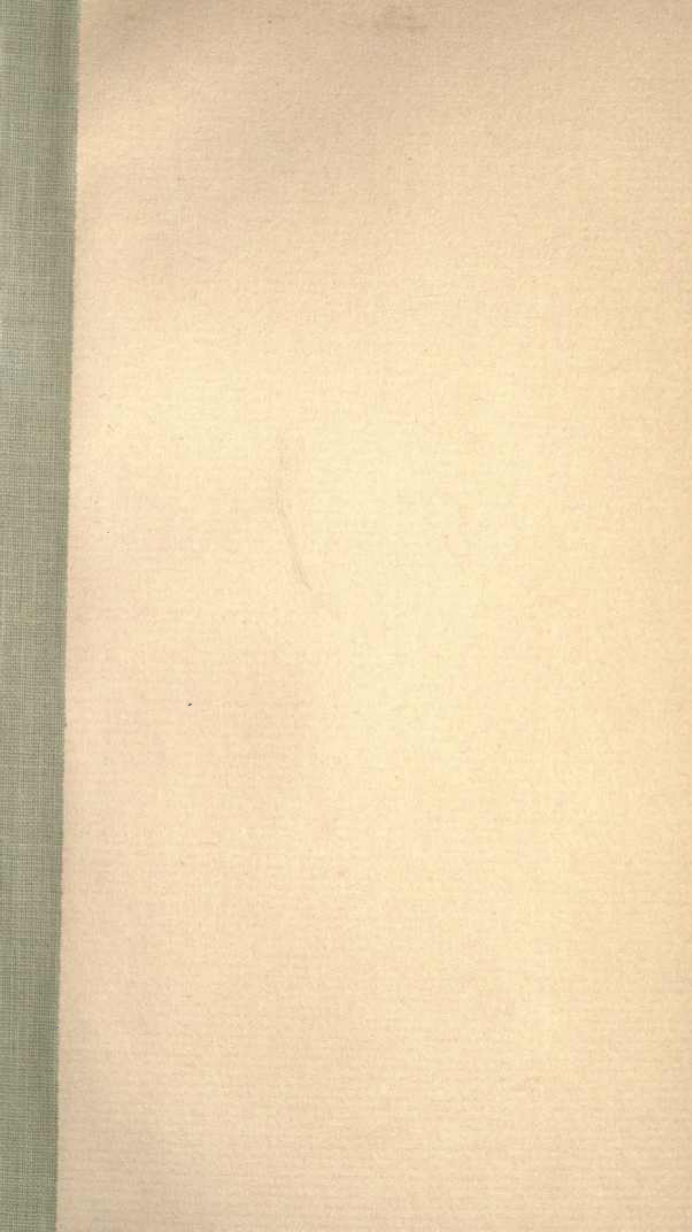
When this paper was read (April 27, 1898) the M. G. stone was half buried in the ground about five feet west of the northwest corner of the coping around the Dixwell Monument. By request of the N. H. Colony Historical Society, adopted after the reading of the paper, the stone was removed April 30, 1898, to a spot within the iron fence referred to. That such removal was a matter of prudence is evident from a statement made by Mr. Henry Trowbridge, that about thirty years ago the stone was actually taken up by a mason "to be broken up for a foundation for the town safe, then being set up in the State House." The relic was rescued just in time by Mr. T. and replaced in its previous position.

NOTE 4 (page 268).

Mourning rings were in common use in Boston and Eastern Massachusetts, and from that quarter made their way into Rhode Island and Eastern Connecticut. In New Haven they were furnished after the death of President Clap, who came here from Windham, Conn., and the will of Col. John Hubbard, who died in 1773, provided for their distribution. There may have been other cases.

NOTE 5 (page 268).

In 1775 Abigail Adams wrote to her husband in Philadelphia: "Purchase me a bundle of pins and put them in your trunk for me—the cry for pins is so great that what I used to buy for seven shillings and sixpence are now twenty shillings and not to be had for that—a bundle contains six thousand, for which I used to give a dollar, but if you can procure them for fifty shillings or three pounds, pray let me have them."



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